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# THE MONTH

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We do not know whether Mr. Gladstone will take it as a compliment or not when we say that his pamphlet reminds us in many respects of Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon*. Both these works proceeded from men of high position and, if possible, still higher character. Both of them were addressed to two audiences, and so might have claimed the ill-omened name given to the book called *Janus*. Both in the case of the work of Mr. Gladstone and of that of Dr. Pusey, this fact made the name given by the author an inappropriate and even an irritating title: for when people are attacked they do not like to be told that it is a peacemaker who assaults them, and when they have the passions of their fellow-countrymen roused against them they do not like to be told that it is done in self-defence and by way of "expostulation." Again, each of these two books, notwithstanding the high credit of the authors, was stamped with the character of unconscious literary presumption. Dr. Pusey undertook to represent the opinions of Catholic theologians, to describe the Catholic system, to enter even into the devotional and religious feelings of Catholics, while he had no more knowledge of these matters than he could gain by his own external study, coupled with a resolute abstention from the use of the ordinary

means of information such as are to be found in intercourse and consultation with those who are at home in the system with which familiarity is sought, and thus he annoyed and seemed to insult Catholics by a continual assumption that he knew more about their religion than they knew themselves. Mr. Gladstone must have taken some pains to make himself acquainted with the meaning of the documents on which he founded his *Expostulation*, and he must be largely excused by the fact that he may very well have been misled by such blind guides as the Old Catholics of Germany. But still his representation of the Encyclical, the Syllabus, and the Vatican Decrees, displays no less real ignorance of the matter which he has undertaken to expound to his countrymen than did Dr. Pusey.

Both these books displayed a temper, and one of them a fierceness, not connatural to the occasion and to the matter in hand, and only to be legitimately accounted for by causes to a great extent foreign to that matter; and it will, as we believe, be among the most mischievous results of each publication, to have ministered to similar prejudices and passions in others—prejudices and passions only too rife in the atmosphere of English society, and which, in the case of those which Mr. Gladstone may have set at work, may at any time plunge the country which he has all his life served so well into serious political danger. And, as far as the immediate results of each book are concerned, we mean the attainment of the results professedly aimed at by the authors, we do not think we do either Dr. Pusey or Mr. Gladstone injustice when we say that it is the current of temper, the extravagance of assertion, and the irritating character of their language, which has barred and may bar the way to such attainment, as far as it was possible. Each author, no doubt honestly, aimed at a legitimate object. A moderate, well reasoned, and temperate demand on the part of one in Dr. Pusey's position to be told what were the terms on which reconciliation might be brought about, much more, what are the true meanings of this or that doctrine as to which Anglicans could not see their way, and the like, might not have led, indeed, to any sort of outward peace such in detail as that of which the author dreamt: but it could not have failed to have elicited a response which would have smoothed over many a difficulty. In the same way, Mr. Gladstone might have asked his question about the Vatican Decrees and Catholic allegiance, if he had chosen, even in a pamphlet, though any half dozen of

good "practising" Catholic gentlemen could have informed him in a moment, and the answer might have been one which would have contributed to the peace and good-fellowship between Catholics and Protestants in an Empire the prosperity of which is in danger from nothing so much as from internal division. But Dr. Pusey could not forget that his business was to frighten people from Rome; a real practical difficulty in his daily experience, and so he was obliged to mingle accusations with his overtures for peace, and Mr. Gladstone is unfortunately so strongly anti-Catholic in his convictions that he cannot address his Catholic fellow-countrymen without echoing the passions of the crowd around him, and precluding any answer but a hostile answer by what seems like insult as well as misrepresentation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We shall give two instances of what we mean by "apparent insult." The misrepresentations of Mr. Gladstone have, we believe, been dealt with elsewhere. In p. 9, Mr. Gladstone has to meet the very natural charge that the abusive language of the famous passage in the article on the *Contemporary Review*, out of which his present pamphlet has grown, is considered insulting by Catholics in general. He replies that his language refers either to converts, or to the Papal Chair, its advisers and abettors—and that it appears to him "little in accordance with reason" that attacks upon these should be considered as assaults on or insults to Catholics in general. That is, it is unreasonable for Catholics to resent what is said against their brethren or their rulers. They are a set of people who have no feelings of loyalty or of brotherly love. And Mr. Gladstone writes this with the perfect knowledge that there is no man living upon the earth who draws to himself a tenth part as much love and devotion as the man whom he would call "the occupant of the Papal Chair." It may be a state of feeling familiar to himself to have no sort of care or regard for his own "ecclesiastical rulers"—perhaps to rejoice in obloquy lavished on them—but to tell Catholics that it is unreasonable for them to feel for the Pope is, to them, an insult. Let us take another proposition. In p. 18, Mr. Gladstone, having given a string of propositions from the Syllabus, scarcely one of which is a correct version of the original, excludes from this representation of his own the most favourable interpretation, when he says, "This can only be when construction is an open question. When the author of certain propositions claims, as in the case before us, a sole and unlimited power to interpret them in such a manner and by such rules as he may from time to time think fit, the only defence for all others concerned is at once to judge for themselves how much unreason or mischief the words naturally understood may contain." There is implicit misrepresentation here, because an infallible teacher or a supreme authority is not necessarily "unlimited," either by a sense of responsibility or by the rule to which it is his duty to conform: but Mr. Gladstone always speaks of the Pope as if he might any day define that there are three Gods, or that the moon is made of green cheese. According to him *all* concerned must of necessity expect the worst possible from the Pope. Here, then, Mr. Gladstone declares that Catholics—for they are the people concerned—are not safe in putting, according to their universal practice, the most "favourable" construction on the decisions of their Spiritual Head, whom they believe to be guided by the Holy Ghost in the government of the Church, and specially assisted by our Lord, Whose Vicar he is, and in Whose Name he speaks. On the contrary, their only safety is to put the most unreasonable and mischievous meaning possible on these decrees, and that because the Pope is the sole ultimate interpreter of them. Of course it would be quite absurd for them to imagine that the Pope could be guided

We may leave Dr. Pusey for the present, as his *Eirenicon* is dead and buried, and lives only in the addition which it has made to the anti-Catholic prejudices and traditions of his co-religionists. It is in something of the same kind that we seem to see that possible influence of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, which makes it worth while for Catholics seriously to consider the new position in which it may help to place them in this country. Since the conclusion of the Vatican Council, it has been the will of Providence that the elements of anti-Christian fury which were already latent, or hardly latent, in European society, should be let loose as if testing His Church to the utmost after her great synodal act. Such periods of disturbance are no new features in her history; they succeed to most of her great pronouncements in defiance of the world, and they lead to and usher in the periods of grace when she reaps the harvest which has been sown in tears. The Franco-German war burst like a thunder-cloud at midsummer, and in a few months the balance of power was deranged, and the state of things under which France had more or less the hegemony of Europe passed away. For a moment it seemed as if the power which succeeded to France in the lead of the Old World might show itself, as it had before been, at least fair or even friendly to the Church, but the lines of Prussian policy had been determined upon even before the last French soldier was withdrawn from Rome. In the course of the four years which have elapsed since Victor Emmanuel, with the approval of Prince Bismarck, set his foot upon the Papacy, Europe has witnessed a development of the anti-Christian spirit of persecution such as we must

by considerations of truth, justice, precedent, the authority of Councils or his own predecessors, or a true paternal desire for the good of the flock of which he has to give an account. No,—the Pope is to be guided only by his own whims—"such rules as from time to time he may think fit"—or, as it is said elsewhere (p. 43), "as he may desire"—and Catholics are to be on their guard against him as if he were a wild beast in human form, of whom it is impossible to think or imagine anything but what is most unreasonable and mischievous. Here again, we repeat, is the language of insult. It can have no sort of force whatever to Catholics except to irritate them, as long as they believe what they do believe. Mr. Gladstone, if he likes, may try to persuade them that the Pope is Antichrist, or that the decrees of an Ecumenical Council are not binding, or that the Vatican Council was not an Ecumenical Council. He does none of these things, and yet he tells Catholics that their only safety lies in acting as if they were true. If it is said that the other people concerned are Englishmen in general, and their rulers in particular, and that they are bound for their own safety's sake to imagine all possible evil from the Pope's power, we answer that this is the language of bigotry and intolerance, not of statesmanship. This Empire, as Mr. Gladstone knows, is in theory governed on principles of toleration.

go back many centuries to parallel. The most iniquitous laws have been voted by acclamation in Germany and Switzerland, and once more prisons are crowded with priests whose only offence is that they obey the laws of the Church, once more are bishops deposed or their property confiscated, and the faithful deprived of their pastors. We draw attention to these things, which are common enough in the history of the Church, and of which the Catholics of England and Ireland have as recent memories as any of their brethren except those who are now the sufferers, chiefly to point out how exceedingly unexpected, and, to human appearance, unlikely the phenomena have been. No one could have thought that Germany would be the scene of a persecution, few could have thought that it would have been made possible by means chiefly of that party in Germany which bears the name of Liberal. Still fewer would have thought that in free and tolerant England, the same party would to so large an extent have applauded the German persecutors, or that the cry for a similar persecution in this country would be raised by a man who a few months ago was the Liberal Prime Minister, and who is still the undisputed leader of the Liberal party.

When we say that the cry has been raised, we use words that must be explained, if our true meaning is to be understood. We are very far from saying that Mr. Gladstone has in words advocated a policy which he has in fact repudiated, or that his repudiation of that policy is in the least degree insincere. Of other public men this might be true, of him it cannot be suspected. Still, the mere fact that he has come forward as he has is enough to raise the cry. It is surely among the most wonderful phenomena of an age of wonders, that when the Pope is a prisoner, when no precedent can be found for ages which even the enemies of the Papacy can interpret as an invasion on his part of the sphere of the civil power, when the Catholic party in Europe is all but prostrate, persecuted in Germany, persecuted in Italy, persecuted in Switzerland, persecuted in Austria, weak in Spain and weak in France—that at a moment like this, when England and Ireland are prosperous and tranquil, and the throne of Queen Victoria rests upon the contented allegiance of a loyal people everywhere, one of the first statesmen of the country should really in his conscience think it necessary to disturb the peace of the Empire by a deliberate charge of disloyalty against

some millions of his fellow-subjects, because they are faithful members of the Catholic Church and nothing else. And we say, when this sort of thing is possible, nothing more in the same line is impossible or improbable. The mere fact, coupled with the other fact that in what he has done and said Mr. Gladstone has by no means acted or spoken in a manner out of harmony with the feelings and opinions of the mass of our countrymen, however little the wisest heads among them may approve of the step and its possible consequences, ought to warn us that the course of events may take as strange a turn in England as it has taken elsewhere, and that it would be at all events very foolish to rest secure that such will not be the case. What is all important to us, for our own sake as well as for the sake of others, is to note that the wildest possible mistakes concerning our faith and principles may still be made even by leading minds in England, and to remember that an universal false impression concerning us is pretty sure some day or other to write its effects in action and in policy.

We believe that we have by no means seen or heard the last of Mr. Gladstone in his new character of the English Bismarck, and that Catholics will reckon without their host if they expect that the very partial success with which his efforts have been crowned in educated and influential circles will either content his appetite for controversy or warn him from future outbreaks of the same sort. It is not that we believe for a moment that he has acted or is acting with a determined and foreseen policy of persecution. He is not the man for such a policy, either in heart or in head. He is one of those men of headlong, fearful energy, who follow what they conceive, in his own words, to be "the duty of the hour" without thinking what the duty of the next hour may be, and who yet move along a path whose windings obey the law of a strange and eccentric logic. But it matters comparatively little what Mr. Gladstone's next step may be. It takes one man to light a blaze, which thousands cannot extinguish, and we believe that, in the case before us, it may be said that Mr. Gladstone has already lighted a fire which he himself will never be able to put out.

Every one knows the immense force of bigotry and blind suspicion of everything Catholic which are dormant in the English mind. It is to these, and not to the Catholic laity or to the educated opinion of the country that the appeal has really

been made. As for the pamphlet having the slightest influence upon Catholics, it is perhaps one of the heaviest charges that can be brought against Mr. Gladstone that he might have known beforehand that it could have none. Our sporting friends have a phrase, when horses in a race keep close together, that the "lot might be covered with a tablecloth;" and we believe that the tablecloth on Mr. Gladstone's dinner-table would cover the whole number of gentlemen still calling themselves Catholic who are prepared valorously to declare that they are Englishmen first and Catholics afterwards, and that they are prepared to stick to their country even at the cost of salvation. The number would not be greatly swollen even if we were to add the few crypto-Döllingerites, who skulk from church to church to approach the Catholic sacraments sacrilegiously. Among Catholics, therefore, Mr. Gladstone will create but little stir, and we can well understand how it has been—though we are still sorry that it has been so—that our most eminent Catholic laymen have come to the conclusion that the simple resolutions passed by the Catholic Union are a sufficient answer to a challenge made in so hostile a manner and by one who has no right to speak for any but himself. "Who is Mr. Gladstone," they may well say, "that he should remonstrate in the name of the world at large, and put a new oath of allegiance of his own coining to the subjects of Queen Victoria?"

It is very true that Mr. Gladstone is no one but himself, or even that this very step of his "into space," as the *Times* has put it, may tend to reduce him to a station of less political significance than that which he has hitherto held in his country. The Liberal party have no particular love for Catholics, and it would not be wise to reckon on them in a time of trial as likely to be more staunch to the principles of toleration, than they were at the time of the Ecclesiastical Titles' Bill, or than the party of the same name have proved to be in Germany. But no English political party can long stand a leader who bounds about like a possessed football, and combines the restlessness of quicksilver with the destructiveness of petroleum. Such comets as Mr. Gladstone usually part with their tails. It is somewhat suspicious that so many minor chiefs of the Liberal party have declared of late that Mr. Gladstone must lead them, and no other. "The lady doth protest too much, methinks," says Hamlet's mother, and we are inclined to wonder whether, when a leader is

firmly seated in his post, and there is no doubt about the allegiance of his followers, declarations of this kind are usually made. Again, it is certainly not one of Mr. Gladstone's characteristics to care much either for office or for political leadership, and he may very possibly prefer the post of "controversialist unattached," to that of the careful leadership of a party which must be managed, and humoured, and which he must often have felt to be an unwelcome restraint upon his own liberty of action. The possible danger from Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet is quite distinct from the possible danger from Mr. Gladstone himself. Were he to remain silent for the rest of his life, it would be all the same as to the mischief which his pamphlet has done. In point of style and beauty it cannot be compared to the *Provinciales* of Pascal, and it will never, certainly, take its place, as that work has done, among the permanent treasures of the literature of a country. But it may do the same kind of mischief to the cause of truth among the hundreds of thousands of its readers, with the dishonest though famous book which we have now named. It is calculated to hit the English mind just at the point where it is weak and unreasoning, it comes from a man whom his countrymen have long been proud of and have admired, though they have never quite trusted him, and it conveys in a popular form about as many false impressions as were ever crowded together in seventy pages of print. These false impressions are not exactly new; perhaps if they were quite new they would do less harm. They are just new enough and just old enough to tickle the palate and slip down easily. They are, moreover, not merely on speculative matters, but touch in many points on subjects as to which the old prejudices of Englishmen are easily excited, because they seem to have a direct political bearing on the existence of the State. There they are, sinking surely and gradually into the lower and most formidable strata of society, and manifesting already, in a hundred forms of petty social persecution, in tyranny to our workhouse children on the part of Protestant Guardians, in cruelty to poor servants, or other equally defenceless members of the community, a power which may some day shake itself loose from the traditions of toleration and fairness which have been for some time the custom of England, and go mad, if not for Catholics' blood and for civil war, at least for measures like those German laws of persecution, for which Mr. Gladstone, we grieve to see, can find no word of reprobation or dislike.

This is the dark side of what may possibly be the effects of this unfortunate pamphlet. But there is no cloud that may not have a silver lining, and there can never be a state of things threatening to the Catholic Church or to her children out of which the providence of God cannot bring greater good than evil. We firmly believe that this unexpected onslaught on Catholic loyalty may be the occasion of immense good to the Catholic body in England. Whether that good is to come in the form of such suffering as is now the lot of our brethren in the German Empire, no human eye can foresee. We must never allow ourselves to think of the possibility of such suffering as an unmixed evil, and with the example of our own predecessors in the Faith in this country and of our own brave brethren abroad to cheer us, we trust that we should not be wanting, by the mercy of God, in courage and endurance if such a trial was to befall us. It would, however, be a serious weakening to the country, as we have not the slightest doubt that the Bismarckian persecution is already seen to be by such German statesmen as are not carried away by the passionate violence of their despotic Chancellor. The Catholic body among ourselves would only be consolidated and strengthened by such a trial, and would gain as a reward of its constancy a large accession from the ranks of its enemies. But we have no business to assume this trial as anything but possible. What we are certain of is that we have an opportunity now afforded us—perhaps it would be more true to say a necessity imposed upon us—of setting ourselves right before the eyes of such of our countrymen as will listen to us or read our books on a number of very important questions, which differ from those which were brought to the front some years ago by the attack made on the Church by Dr. Pusey, as being questions pre-eminently of modern times, arising out of the developments of modern thought and the policy of modern States, and so of a more immediate interest than many other questions of a more distinctly theological character.

When we look over the number of letters, good, bad, and indifferent, which have crowded the columns of the *Times* and of our own Catholic papers since Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet exploded in the early half of November, we are tempted to wonder what possible question of controversy between Catholics and Protestants has not been brought up once in the general turmoil. There has certainly been a "refurbishing of rusty

tools," quite universal enough to satisfy even Mr. Gladstone's appetite, and, as far as Catholics are concerned, they know too well, that no weapon is too rusty to serve against the Church. The *Times* found its account in opening its columns to men of no importance and character, who had nothing to say which had not been a hundred times repeated, and who must have been very grateful to Mr. Gladstone for giving them the opportunity of seeing their names in large print at the end of a certain number of lines of silly platitude which under no other conceivable circumstances would have been printed in the pages of an ordinary London newspaper. At the same time, we are sorry to be obliged to believe, that elaborate and carefully reasoned historical letters, taking the side which was not in favour in Printing House Square, were not allowed to see the light. The consequence of this equitable arrangement on the part of the leaders of the Press, is that a number of old questions have been imported into the controversy, which have, in truth, nothing to do with it. This remark applies even to the most important "episode" in the controversy, the episode which has caused most sensation both at home and abroad—where, in particular, it will by this time have done an immense mischief which we hope the author will one day deeply lament—we mean the episode connected with the name of Lord Acton. Lord Acton's letters, whether their subject bore in his own mind or not immediately upon the question raised by Mr. Gladstone, that of the civil allegiance of Catholics as affected by the Vatican Decrees, will very soon have been altogether separated in the public mind from that question. And he will be known as the man of rank, character, and learning, who took the opportunity, at the time that he was protesting that communion with the Catholic Church was dearer to him than life, to rake up from the archives of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a certain amount of dirt, which he cast with all his force upon the saintly memory of Pius the Fifth, and the venerated name of Fénelon. Pius the Fifth, according to Lord Acton, was morally guilty of assassination, and Fénelon outwardly submitted to a condemnation from Rome, while at the same time he held himself to be still right—just as the "crypto-Döllingerites," of whom perhaps Lord Acton, as well as the rest of us, has heard, profess "due submission" to the Vatican Decrees, while they privately declare that they do not believe them. It turned out that

there is no evidence that Pius the Fifth knew anything at all of the project of assassination to which Lord Acton charges him with having been a party, and that Fénelon never questioned the condemnation of Rome in the sense in which it was inflicted, so that the hero of the "malachite dagger"—now high on the staff of the *Times*, we believe, and member of one of the first clubs in London—who undertook to assassinate King Charles Albert, and was "decorated" by King Victor Emmanuel, can find no more authority for his intended act in the holy Pontiff, than the hypocrites of our own time can in that of the great Archbishop of Cambrai.

But we are not about to enter into details on subjects which either have already been or will certainly be fully dealt with elsewhere, either in our own pages or in those of the Catholic papers. We have mentioned the great number of excrescences which have grown on to the question as it was raised by Mr. Gladstone, in order to show how widely the door has been opened to anti-Catholic controversy of every kind, low as well as honourable. We conceive that what is most important to Catholics at this moment is that they should fairly and boldly meet the main question on its own grounds, and also take the opportunity of informing themselves, as well as others, on that large range of what may be called modern questions, which are truly, though only in a secondary manner, connected with that main question. The principal point of all is, of course, that on which we are promised a work from the hands of his Grace the Archbishop of Westminster, the true bearing, so widely misconceived by Mr. Gladstone, of the decrees of the Vatican Council on Civil Allegiance. The Archbishop will speak with that authority which belongs to his office and character, and, we may be sure, with that clearness and precision which mark all his public pronouncements. The ground has been already to some extent covered in the full and theological Pastoral of the Bishop of Salford, while the Bishop of Clifton has put the same doctrine in plain and popular language. There is no danger, therefore, that Englishmen who choose to read should be in any doubt as to the fair and ample answer which Mr. Gladstone's main question has received, especially when we add the evidence of eminent and educated laymen, such as Lord Arundell, Lord Herries, Lord Robert Montagu, the O'Donoghue, Mr. Henry Stourton, Mr. Charles Langdale, Mr. Scrope, Mr. Towneley, as well as the

letters of Mgr. Capel and Canon Oakeley, and a few others, on the same subject. The response has been full and universal enough to satisfy any reasonable requirements, especially when it is remembered that the Catholic Union has, at a large meeting, unanimously agreed to the resolutions which were published in its name,

But we are mistaken if this immediate question is the only question, or the greatest question, with which it is the duty of Catholics to grapple at the present moment. It was Mr. Gladstone's unfortunate temptation to rush in where his very partial knowledge of Catholic theology ought to have warned him not to venture, and, in order to prove the necessity or opportuneness of his sudden attack on the loyalty of his fellow-countrymen, to set before the people of England an account of what had been set forth in the Syllabus of 1864, as well as of the Vatican Decrees of 1870. He glanced rapidly over the Syllabus, leaving on one side many a proposition which in his heart of hearts he must have thought thoroughly true and entirely in accordance with the needs of the age, in order to fasten on a set of other propositions which seemed to him fraught with danger to the peace and liberties of England, unless Catholic Englishmen were prepared to disavow the authority from which these propositions proceeded. We have already said that we do not charge Mr. Gladstone with the slightest intention of misrepresenting the Catholic doctrine on the points which he thought it worth his while to bring before the public. But he has added one more instance to the long list of presumptuous expounders of a science in which they have never studied; and of any one who does this it may certainly be said—

Ceratis ope Daedala  
Nititur penuis, vitre daturus  
Nomina ponto.

We shall content ourselves here with the words of two of our Bishops, men whose words are not likely to have been spoken or written rashly.

The mode in which the illustrious pamphleteer [says the Bishop of Birmingham], treats the clauses of the Syllabus is simply disgraceful to a scholar, and to one whose words carry with them a deep responsibility. To interpret the sense of Pontifical constitutions demands the science of Catholic theology, and an intimate knowledge of its technical language.

But even an ordinary logician ought not to be guilty of turning particular negatives into universal negatives. This is to destroy the fundamental sense of language. The language of Papal Encyclicals is not for the uninitiated. They are addressed to the Bishops of the Church, who have the science of their interpretation.

Dr. Ullathorne gives two flagrant examples, which, as we are not entering into details, we may omit. Let us pass on to the Pastoral of the Bishop of Salford.

Mr. Gladstone is as unskilled and unlearned in the scientific and technical language used by the pastors of the Catholic Church among themselves, as he is prejudiced against the Faith itself. Law and Medicine have their own precise terminology and language, and the uninitiated cannot read them. It is so, precisely, with Catholic theology, viewed as a science. The Encyclical and the Syllabus were addressed, not to the people, but to the Episcopate, by the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Those who have been accustomed to consider Bishops as civil functionaries, religion as an appanage of the State, and to determine doctrine by lay tribunals, may perhaps be pardoned if they forget that, in dealing with the Catholic Church, they have to do with a wholly different order of ideas, and are out of their depth until they have sat under scientific teachers, as Paul at the feet of Gamaliel. It is for the Bishops to expound the true sense of the scientific language of the Catholic Church.

While far from saying that the doctrines of the Syllabus are acceptable to the world, or that the world will ever relish them in their entirety till it has been reconverted to the Gospel of truth, we unhesitatingly affirm that Mr. Gladstone has so distorted the meaning of the propositions of the Syllabus as to make it a mockery of the Church's doctrine. We are prepared to show that the propositions, which have been most misrepresented and misunderstood, are to be found *in principle*, like hard-set mortar, in the deep foundations of the Constitution of England (p. 38).<sup>2</sup>

These declarations cannot but have great weight, we should hope, even with Mr. Gladstone himself. A man who is himself master in so many departments of knowledge, which he must certainly know to require technical familiarity and training in those who hope to find themselves at home in the spheres with which they deal, can hardly be unwilling to understand

<sup>2</sup> *A Pastoral Letter* on submission to a Divine Teacher, neither disloyalty nor the surrender of mental and moral freedom. By Herbert, Bishop of Salford : Leeming. London : Burns and Oates. The quotation from the Bishop of Birmingham's Pastoral is from the *Tablet* of November 28, p. 692. Some few of Mr. Gladstone's mistakes are pointed out in the note at the end of Father Coleridge's Sermon, the *Abomination of Desolation*, pp. 20—23. Burns and Oates.

that the sacred science of theology is not to be meddled with by amateurs from without except at their peril. But we are not now addressing ourselves to Mr. Gladstone, but to our brethren, the English Catholics. Whatever may be the magnitude of the misrepresentations which have now been scattered over the face of the whole country with so free a hand, it is at least our duty to do our best to nullify the evil effect on the minds of our fellow-countrymen. At present they have been told a number of things concerning the doctrines of the Church which are certainly false. These misrepresentations, it has been said,

Which are now spread wherever the English language is used, on the authority of a man of the highest personal character and political influence, affect the teaching of the Church on matters on which people in general are so sensitive as the liberty of the Press, the relations of Church and State, education, and the validity of marriage.<sup>3</sup>

The sale of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, as far as we can calculate, has not been far short of that of the *Christian Year* in the space of thirty years: it is four or five times that of many of the most popular numbers of the periodical works of Mr. Dickens. It is fair to presume, therefore, that the anti-Catholic tradition, misrepresenting the Church in her teaching of principles, has been more largely added to in the course of the last few weeks than during many previous years. We shall not see the effect immediately, perhaps; but whenever the time comes for England to go mad again, as she did in 1850, with an anti-Catholic panic, we shall see the fruit of the seed which has now been sown.

There are no subjects for Christian thought more important in their bearings on the question of the day than those which are dealt with in the Encyclical and Syllabus, on which Mr. Gladstone mainly based his attack, and in the Vatican Council. It stands to reason that it should be so, because the Syllabus is the summary of the decisions and protests of the Church for many years past, with reference to the errors of the generation in which we live as to philosophy, religion, morals, and politics, and the relations of Church and State, the civil and spiritual powers. It contains, if we may say so, a philosophy of the nineteenth century, and there could be no better service to the Church and to the world, than to bring its teachings home to the public in general by clear and simple

<sup>3</sup> *The Abomination of Desolation*, note, p. 23.

explanations. It seems to be a part of the providence of God that the Church should for ever be brought before the notice of the world, unwelcome as is her presence and misunderstood her voice. Those who are in possession of the truth are often inclined to fold their hands, and to shrink from the ungrateful exertion of forcing the truth which the Church has to proclaim upon the inattentive and hostile minds of men all around them. The yoke, as their adversaries deem it, presses so gently upon them, that they find it difficult to understand the necessity of reconciling others to it before they can be brought to submit to it.

We hope to see among the immediate results of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet a great deal more of intellectual activity among those at whose peace it seems to aim so threatening a blow. We hope to see our organization strengthened, our literary organs reinforced, action, individual and united, for all that relates to the advancement of our general interests, encouraged to the utmost, and the whole body of English Catholics penetrated with a sense of the importance of the occasion and a resolution to labour and sacrifice themselves for the cause of truth. Certainly not all of us are capable of enlightening the minds which have had so many layers of misrepresentation accumulated upon them, not all of us can expound the many difficult questions touched on in the Syllabus, or bring true research and true criticism to bear upon the many historical points which are now made the occasions of attack, some of which must occupy our writers and the pages of our reviews for some time to come. Catholic controversy must become more than ever the duty of those who are capable of waging it, and their brother Catholics must assist them and support them to the utmost of their power. We have the indefectible truth on our side, and the Catholics of this generation have every reason to hope, that if they do their duty to the truth, from which the greater mass of their countrymen have been so long shut out, they may be the instruments of a blessing to the country which is now so unjustly incensed against them such as it has never received since St. Augustine landed on the shores of England.

As we are finishing these remarks, the tidings come to us, all the more welcome on account of the uncertainty which at one time seemed to threaten disappointment to the hopes of the Catholic body, that the one great writer among us whose words are sure to be listened to by our own countrymen is

about once more to enter on the field. The controversy in which Dr. Newman, the Archbishop, and Dr. Ullathorne, each a representative man in his way, take part on the Catholic side will not soon flag in interest. Our earnest prayer is that the result may be an amount of lucid statement of Catholic truths such as may make a real and lasting impression on the minds of our countrymen. If such should be the issue, the pain which has been occasioned to us by our sudden denunciation as traitors at the bar of public opinion will not have been endured in vain.

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*Lines on a late Ceremony at Thorndon.<sup>1</sup>*

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WEEP not around this bier !  
But smile and exult with a holy pride  
O'er the faithful soldier, who bled and died  
For his God, in that bygone year !

They offered the bribe of life ;  
But his heart was set on the joys above,  
And he loved the Faith with a passionate love  
That feared not a mortal strife.

And the holiest, dearest ties,  
The cherished wife, and the babes she bore,  
He hath yielded them up, and would give yet more  
For his God, and the martyr's prize.

Rejoice on this glorious day !  
When a martyr's bones have come to rest  
'Mid the household graves of a race long blest  
With the Faith's unsullied ray.

Chief of a noble name !  
Rejoice that a martyr's blood is thine ;  
Be this thy pride of ancestral line,  
Beyond this world's poor fame.

And thou, mother's heart be bright !  
For thy first-born lifts anointed hands,  
The first of the martyr's sons who stands  
To offer the sacred rite.

Let one and all rejoice !  
And lift to God a radiant eye,  
With a faith to conquer, and bleed, and die,  
At the bidding of His dear Voice.

Thou noble dust, farewell !  
We leave thee to thy last resting-place,  
But we carry away a peace and grace,  
And a joy no words can tell.

Lord, hear our loving cry !  
Restore the faith of our country's saints,  
And give us the courage that never faints,  
With the hope that will never die !

C. P.

<sup>1</sup> These lines were suggested by the ceremony at the mortuary chapel at Thorndon, on the placing of the body of James Earl of Derwentwater in the family vault, October 16, 1874.

## *Structure of St. Matthew's Gospel.*

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### PART THE FIRST.

#### I.

THE tradition which Irenæus and others have handed down to us as to the origin of the book which is known in the Christian Church as the Gospel according to St. Matthew, coincides very exactly with the guesses which we might be inclined to form from a close and careful examination of the internal structure of the book itself. The tradition amounts, in fact, to this: that the Gospel was not written immediately after the Ascension and the Day of Pentecost, the dates at which our Blessed Lord took leave of the earth, and at which the Life of the Church under the special guidance and by the special power of the Holy Ghost began. It may be gathered from the language of the ancient writers that there was an unwritten Gospel before any book of the kind was written—that, in fact, the "Gospel" had a recognized existence as one of the elements of Christian teaching, one of the commonly recognized treasures of the Christian Church. It was a written Gospel, *γραφὴ εὐαγγελίου*, that was a novelty when St. Matthew produced it. We may gather from this, what would indeed be most natural as a supposition in the absence of any direct evidence, that the main circumstances and features of our Lord's Life were the subjects of the ordinary Apostolical instruction in the Church at Jerusalem, a part of that office, it may well be, which the Apostles themselves originally performed as witnesses of our Lord's life and teaching, and which they included under the name of the Word of God, which it was not meet that they should abandon for the sake even of so important a feature in the new community as the distribution of the alms of the faithful.<sup>1</sup> It does not follow of course, that even in that early time there were none associated with the Apostles or delegated by them for

<sup>1</sup> Acts vi. 2.

this particular purpose. It is most natural to suppose that the "Evangelists," who are more than once mentioned in a sort of order in the Apostolical Church, had the function committed to them, to relate and explain to the faithful and to catechumens the details of the life, actions, words, and mysteries of our Lord. It is impossible to imagine any time in the life of the Church from the very Day of Pentecost itself, when this special ministration must not have been necessary, as indeed it was most completely in harmony with the spirit of the Church, and probably, a mode of instruction such as would naturally have arisen in a community composed of Jews, and who had the teaching of the Jewish schools before them.

It seems to have been the Providential rule in the unfolding of the marvellous gifts contained in the Christian Church, that her varied elements and powers should be called forth in succession by the necessities of the time, and that when the moment came, she should be found to put forth as it were spontaneously some part of her system of institutions which was to become permanent and beneficial in a degree not to be measured by the requirement which had given it birth. We have an instance of this in the creation of the diaconate, and in other occasions mentioned in the Acts. Thus it is quite in accordance with the principles of Christian history, that the incalculable treasure which the Church in all ages was to possess in the form of the sacred Gospels, might not be thought of for a few years after the Day of Pentecost, might lie hid in the breast of the Church, while she was yet preparing her children for it, and that the boon might at last have been conferred almost silently, and, as it seemed, accidentally, like the gift of the Blessed Sacrament itself by our Lord at the Last Supper. It is impossible but that during the space of time which intervened between the Day of Pentecost and the dispersion of the Apostles, the large body of ordinary teaching concerning the life and doctrine of our Lord should have been to some extent practically systematized and arranged. The body of doctrine must have grown insensibly, and have been gradually filled up in all its details, as the practice of teaching adapted itself to the progressive knowledge and spiritual growth of those to whom it was addressed. The Passion and Resurrection of our Blessed Lord, the works of wonderful power by which He approved His divine mission,

and the main heads of His teaching from the time of His Baptism by St. John, seem to have formed, if we may venture to use such an expression, the original outline of the Gospel teaching. The Resurrection following on the Passion was the first great truth proposed to the faith of his audience by St. Peter on the Day of Pentecost. The same Apostle, when he opened the door of the Church to the Gentiles in the person of Cornelius and his companions, seems to give the shortest possible summary of the "Gospel" in a few verses—"The word which God sent unto the children of Israel, proclaiming the gospel of peace through Jesus Christ—He is Lord of all—you know the word that has been published throughout the whole of Judæa, beginning from Galilee after the baptism which John preached, Jesus of Nazareth, how God anointed Him with the Holy Ghost and with power, Who went about working good, and healing all that were ruled over as subjects by the devil, for God was with Him. And we are witnesses of all that He did in the land of the Jews and in Jerusalem. Whom also they put to death, hanging Him upon a tree. Him hath God raised up on the third day, and given to become manifest, not to all the people, but to the witnesses before ordained of God, who we are who did eat and drink with Him after He had risen from the dead."<sup>2</sup>

Such seems to have been the germ, so to say, which gradually grew into the "Gospel" as it was taught in the Church of Jerusalem while the Apostles were still there. We have an expansion of it which hardly, except in details, goes beyond the lines thus laid down in St. Peter's speech to Cornelius, in the written Gospel which is known as the Gospel according to St. Mark. This Gospel need not be earlier in time than that of St. Matthew because it is simpler in outline and less full in detail. For the "Gospel" would grow in fulness and include more and more of the mysteries of our Lord's life, as well as more and more of His direct teaching, in proportion as those to whom it was addressed were more advanced in Christian knowledge. To a Church in its first infancy, the "Evangelist"—we use the word now in its Scriptural sense, and not in that which now belongs to it in literature—would relate the most necessary facts first, though they did not come first in the actual order of time, and he would leave out a great deal of what he might have dwelt on at an earlier stage of

<sup>2</sup> Acts x.

his own course of teaching, but to a more advanced audience. All that we can fairly gather from the comparative brevity and simplicity of St. Mark—fuller as he is, here and there, in details than St. Matthew, as to what he does not omit—is that in the Gospel of the former we have a more elementary form of the ordinary "Gospel" than in that of the latter. This has nothing to do with priority of time, unless, which is clearly not the case, the two written Gospels of which we speak were addressed to the same community.

## II.

If we now compare the Gospel according to St. Matthew with that according to St. Mark, as we have compared the Gospel of St. Mark with the slight outline given by St. Peter in his speech to Cornelius, a difference in the relative comparisons is immediately obvious. St. Mark's Gospel goes but little, as has been said, beyond the lines laid down by St. Peter; but St. Matthew's Gospel has a great many features which are altogether wanting in that of St. Mark, similar as they are in general plan as far as they go side by side. The whole of our Lord's infancy is omitted by St. Mark, and His temptation is but glanced at. His baptism by St. John, on the other hand, is fully given. The long Sermon on the Mount, St. Matthew's epitome of our Lord's earlier teaching, is also entirely absent. The same may be said of the continual references to the fulfilment of prophecy which run like a sort of chorus or refrain through so large a part of St. Matthew's Gospel. The same again may be said to a great extent of the parables, of other specimens of our Lord's teaching, and of the arguments with the Pharisees. These instances are sufficient to enable us to see what we may call the second order of subjects connected with our Lord's Life which could be added to the first as the teaching became deeper and more intimate. There is more reference to the dogmatic facts of the Incarnation, more definite connection of the Old Testament with the New, a more complete unfolding of the practical and personal teaching of our Lord, the Beatitudes, the Counsels of Perfection, and the like. These remarks must of course be modified to some extent by a consideration of the particular circumstances of the Churches for whose use severally the several Gospels were composed. A Gentile Church, or a Church containing in its fold a large proportion of Gentiles or proselytes, such as

the Church of Rome, to which St. Mark addresses himself, would not appreciate the constant fulfilment of prophecy, or the manner in which our Lord dealt with the Jewish authorities, to the same extent as the Church of Jerusalem. At the same time it must be remembered that the Epistle written by St. Paul to the Roman Church evidently supposes, in those to whom it is written, a deep familiarity with the Jewish Scriptures, and, in general, with the whole scheme of the dispensation under which the Jews were made the chosen people of God. There was undoubtedly a very large Jewish community at Rome—so large, as to force itself on the attention of the Roman literary world as well as on that of the Government. It is hardly likely that the first Roman converts should not have been Jews, and we must therefore not attribute the comparative exclusion of the topics named above from the Gospel of St. Mark to the Gentile character of the Roman Christians; at least, not to that alone.

If it be true that the Gospel of St. Matthew was penned after the Christian teaching had been continued for some years at Jerusalem, and with the object, among others, to supply a sort of manual and summary of that teaching, as far as it regarded the life of our Lord, to the community which had gradually been formed under the eyes of the Apostles themselves, of whose presence the Christians were now about to be deprived, as well as for the use of the Christian teachers who were now to labour in fields of action which separated them one from the other, and so made a text-book more necessary than before, then we are at no loss to find sufficient reasons for phenomena which characterize this Gospel itself. It may very well have been that at the first there was no recognized "text," so to speak, of teaching as to our Blessed Lord's Life, the mysteries which it contained, and the doctrine which it embodied, whether moral or theological, whether by way of teaching or by way of example, and the fulfilment of prophecy. It is not necessary to suppose any entirely supernatural gift in the Apostles in order to think that their testimony and their remembrance as to matters and words which had been of so engrossing an interest to them, were uniform as well as precise. The multiplication of books and the immense multifariousness and frivolity of modern education and modern life, have probably made a great change in the ordinary accuracy and power of the memory. Still it must

be remembered that our Lord is said before His Ascension distinctly to have "opened their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures,"<sup>3</sup> especially, as it appears from the context, with reference to Himself, and that one of the gifts which He promised them from the Holy Ghost when He came, was that He should teach them all things, and bring all things to their mind whatsoever our Lord Himself should have said unto them.<sup>4</sup> As time went on, in the infant Church at Jerusalem the teaching concerning our Lord, would, as we have said, have become more settled and as it were crystallized, especially as to those salient points of His career which we call mysteries, as to the doctrines which He taught as more especially His own, as to the fulfilment of prophecy, and, as far as circumstances had provided for its unfolding, as to the scheme and polity of the Church. The more precise and regular, if we may so speak, the teaching became, the more would it be necessary, when the time arrived for the dispersion of the Apostolic band, and for the dissemination of the Gospel over the whole world by the preaching of a number of their followers as well as of themselves, that an authentic collection should be made, by one who had every right to speak and had the office to do so specially committed to him, which might serve at once as a record of their remembrances and as an authoritative summary of their teaching with regard to our Lord.

Such a monument the Church has always believed herself to possess in the Gospel of St. Matthew. In a certain true sense it is the Gospel of the Apostles. It is not difficult to show that it has been either used or referred to by each of the other three, though here we are of course treading on ground which has been mined by controversy. St. Mark, in his far shorter Gospel, follows it with here and there an alteration as to order, it not having been the object of St. Matthew to put all things chronologically. St. Luke's reference to St. Matthew and St. Mark is very noticeable. His Gospel is much more of a history than the other two. He is the only one of the Evangelists who has written a preface, and from this we learn the gradual process by which such a history of our Lord came to be formed. First, Theophilus has been "catechetically instructed" as to the subject-matter of the Gospel. Then there have been many attempts made to put into some kind of order, as well as to collect together, the truths and facts which have

<sup>3</sup> St. Luke xxiv. 45.

<sup>4</sup> St. John xiv. 26.

been the subject of this instruction. Then comes the work of the authoritative Evangelist, the writer of a Gospel, and he sets forth for the use of Theophilus an historical account of the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. We need not unduly press the words of St. Luke to mean that there is no deviation from strict chronological order in the course of his Gospel, but it is undoubtedly formed much more on the principle of the order of time than that of St. Matthew. St. Luke also follows the other two as to the salient points in our Lord's Life on which he fastens: but he seems to make it his object to give other instances of the same thing rather than the same instance, and thus not only to follow the main lines of the Gospel system, but also to complete the history. These additions to the sacred history are priceless. Thus, for the Sermon on the Mount, he gives the Sermon on the Plain, for the call of Peter and other Apostles from their nets before the beginning of the Galilean ministry, he gives the miraculous draught of fishes and the later call of the Apostles to be fishers of men, and for many anecdotes of our Lord's teaching in Galilee he substitutes similar anecdotes which seem to have taken place in the later period of our Lord's teaching in Judæa itself. We need not by any means suppose, though it may have been the case, that the readers to whom St. Luke addressed himself were familiar with the Gospel of St. Matthew. But it is clear that St. Luke was acquainted with it, and that while in some respects he made it his model, in others he carefully supplemented it where, as a record of fact, it admitted of supplement, while he also omitted some features in it, notably the constant reference to the fulfilment of prophecy, which were more congenial to the direct purpose of St. Matthew than to his own. As for St. John, we shall see that his Gospel cannot be understood nor its arrangement appreciated, without supposing in him a knowledge of what has already been stated by St. Matthew and the others, and a constant attention and reference to their order.

## III.

We may now turn to the particular Gospel with which we are at present concerned, and endeavour to trace out as far as we can the principles upon which, if we may use such an expression, it has been compiled and arranged in the form in which we now possess it. We speak of it as a compilation, in the sense which is in harmony with the remarks already made.

If it be true that the actions, mysteries, and teachings of our Blessed Lord were made the subject of constant and, as we should say, catechetical instruction in the earliest Church at Jerusalem, it must naturally be concluded that the original form in which the mass of the teaching concerning Him would lie before the hands, so to speak, of the Evangelist who was to construct the written Gospel, would be that of a number of short and detached records—fragments giving an account or a summary of particular discourses, disputes, or parables, and the like. Our readers are all familiar with the short passages from the written Gospel which are selected by the Church, and which form a part of her Liturgy or Mass. We have only to suppose the greater part of the mass of records concerning our Lord existing in fragments which would correspond in size and in unity of purpose to the "Gospels" in the Missal throughout the year, in order to have a fair idea of the materials on which St. Matthew might have worked. But St. Matthew had other knowledge concerning our Blessed Lord, which could not be possessed by a common compiler, and this would certainly guide him in the arrangement and tell him where, if so be, he was to supplement, where to connect, what order of time to keep before his mind, and even what he might omit on particular or on general grounds. He would have before him the whole order of the three years' ministry, for most of which he himself had been our Lord's inseparable companion, and he would also have the whole of that doctrinal knowledge concerning our Lord's Person and the mysteries involved in His Incarnation and Human Life, concerning the new Law and the system of the Church which He came to found, which belonged to him as one of the Apostles to whom our Lord had confided the secrets of His kingdom.

We have already quoted some words of St. Peter, giving the earliest summary which we possess of what we may consider the "Gospel" concerning our Lord, and these few words fall naturally into two heads of division. Our Lord was anointed by the Holy Ghost and with power, and went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed by the devil. This may be called the first head. The second is briefly summed up by St. Peter, when he says that the Jews killed Him and hung Him upon a tree, and that God raised Him up on the third day from the dead, and gave Him to be manifest to those witnesses who were "commanded to preach to the

people and to testify that He it is Who is appointed to judge the living and the dead." In a word, our Lord's Life as the Anointed, the Messias, the Prophet and Teacher and worker of miracles by which His mission was attested, is the first head, and His Passion, Death, and Resurrection the second. This gives us broadly the two great divisions into which the whole Gospel history naturally falls, divisions which are observed by all the Evangelists. But the Passion of our Blessed Lord had its preparation, not only in history and in the circumstances which combined to bring it about at the hands of the Jews, but also in the teaching and conduct of our Lord Himself. There was a point in the three years of ministry which must have fixed itself indelibly on the minds of the Apostles in this connection, when, after the great and memorable confession of St. Peter, our Lord had for the first time mentioned two things most dear to His Sacred Heart, as to which up to that time He had kept silence, His Church and His Passion. "From that time," St. Matthew tells us, "Jesus began to show to His disciples that He must go up to Jerusalem, and suffer many things from the ancients and scribes and chief priests, and be put to death, and the third day rise again."<sup>5</sup> This great revelation, followed as it was so immediately by the mystery of the Transfiguration, which seems to correspond, as to this division of our Lord's Life, to the mystery of the Baptism at the beginning of the ministry, to which it bears so many points of resemblance, must have stood out in the recollections of the Apostles, as it forms a prominent landmark in the history of our Lord and of His dealings with them. It was, in a certain sense, the beginning of the Passion, and, as we shall see, our Lord at this time changed His method of conduct, not only towards His Apostles but also towards His enemies, and even as to the main scene of His preaching. The first announcement of the Passion, then, following on the confession of St. Peter, and followed by His Transfiguration, would furnish a central point for the arrangement of the Gospel narrative.

But in the memory of the Apostles there would also be a number of other remarkable points or epochs in our Lord's ministry, and in their own relation to Him, which could not but be considered in any arrangement of the details of His Life, as far as such details were to become or had already become, the subjects of Christian teaching. We need not go

<sup>5</sup> St. Matt. xvi. 21.

through all these at present, except by way of a very summary recapitulation; but if there be any truth in what has already been put forward as to the gradual manifestation of the Son of God in His human nature, which we have supposed to have been the end kept in view by the Providence of the Eternal Father in ordering the external circumstances of the life of our Lord, it is impossible but that this unfolding of the various dignities and powers with which the Sacred Humanity was endowed should have left the deepest traces upon the minds of the Apostles, even though it may not have been a part of the Divine Counsels that the whole series of these manifestations should be formally drawn out either in the oral or the written Gospel.

In truth, we shall find most of these salient points, as we have considered them, in the earthly history of our Lord, noted in St. Matthew's Gospel, as in the others (except in that of St. John, which we shall consider for the present as simply supplementary as to the facts which it records), and generally in the order of time in which they appear to have occurred. The first formal and public manifestation, if we are so to speak, took place at the Baptism of our Lord, when the heavens were opened, when the Holy Ghost descended visibly upon Him, and the voice of the Father was heard declaring that He was His Beloved Son, in Whom He was well pleased. But St. Matthew prefaces this with the genealogy of our Lord, the account of the revelation of His supernatural conception to St. Joseph, the great manifestation at the Epiphany, the fulfilments of prophecy in His regard in the massacre of the Innocents, the flight to and return from Egypt, the dwelling in Nazareth, and the victory of the Temptation. He passes over, as in his capacity of witness it was natural for him to pass over, those scenes in the Public Life at which he was not himself present, such as the first acquaintance of the earliest Apostles with our Lord after the Temptation, the first miracle at Cana, and the first Passover, with its wonderful act of authority in clearing the Temple, and all other incidents before the beginning of the Galilæan preaching, to which he hurries on, briefly relating the call of the four Apostles to follow our Lord therein. The rapidity with which he describes what may have been a period of many months of active preaching, during the first year of our Lord's ministry, in the compass of a single verse, not

pausing even to relate what we may call our Lord's inauguration of this part of His office at Capharnaum, on that memorable Sabbath day of which we have elsewhere so full an account, is in striking contrast with the loving care with which he lingers over the Sermon on the Mount, which occupies a place in his Gospel which can only be compared to that filled by the discourse after the Last Supper in the Gospel of St. John.

It is difficult not to see in this method of St. Matthew a strong indication of the purpose for which the Gospel was intended. The Sermon on the Mount is a complete summary of the moral teaching of our Lord at this stage of His ministry, indeed, we may say at all stages, though we find one or two modifications and many additions in the teaching of a later date. It is not easy to suppose that it can have been delivered as a single discourse, unless it be considered as a recapitulation of previous teaching. The Beatitudes, the doctrine of the fulfilment of the Law, the rules as to prayer, fasting, and alms-deeds, the rules about perfect dependence on God, absolute abstinence from judging our neighbour, perfect forgiveness and charity, and the like, could hardly have been taken in in a moment by an audience such as that which our Lord had at His feet, even if we were to suppose that the sermon was addressed in the main to the most intimate of the disciples. It is not impossible, certainly, that our Lord may have delivered such a summary and epitome of His doctrine after a long course of preaching, and with an especial view to the use which might be made of it by the Apostles in their teaching, either during His lifetime or afterwards, and we are moreover told that the burthen of His more ordinary preaching in His circuits through Galilee was "Repent ye," "Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," or, as St. Mark puts it, "Do penance and believe the Gospel." The Sermon on the Mount is addressed to those who have already become penitent, and whose faith in the Gospel is firm; it embodies exactly that teaching of our Lord which the Apostles would apply to the formation of that first model society of believers at Jerusalem, who had one heart and one soul; and, if it does not directly announce what are known as the Evangelical counsels of perfection, it lays down the principles on which they are founded, and so prepares the way for them. In the same way, there is as yet no formal

doctrine of the Cross; but the whole doctrine of the Cross is there.

## IV.

After the Sermon on the Mount, St. Matthew enters on what is the most difficult part of his Gospel for those who expect to find him a simple historian, following in his narrative, at least in the main, the order of events. From the beginning of the eighth chapter (according to the received division) up to the point which we have already indicated in the sixteenth chapter, where he relates the confession of St. Peter, our Lord's words to him about the Church, and the beginning of the instructions and prophecies which relate to the Passion, St. Matthew's Gospel does not appear at first sight either to be drawn up on any definite plan, or to be in harmony with the notes of time supplied by the other Evangelists, or, again, to point out in any sharpness of outline the most remarkable stages in our Lord's career, as they are to be drawn from a careful study of the whole history as it is presented to us in the New Testament. The salient points of the intervening history have been elsewhere enumerated, and need not now be repeated; but St. Matthew has certainly not omitted any of them. He gives the commencement of the more violent opposition to our Lord on the part of the Jewish authorities upon occasion of the apparent breach of the Sabbath by His disciples rubbing the ears of corn in their hands on that day, and our Lord's various arguments on the point, wound up by His claim to be the Lord even of the Sabbath. He gives the subsequent phase of still more malignant opposition when the calumny was spread abroad that He cast out devils by Beelzebub. He gives, as we shall see presently, with much apparent care, a sort of summary of representative miracles, showing our Lord's power over disease, and death, and the forces of nature, and the evil spirits. He mentions the selection and the mission of the Apostles, and, as the heat of persecution becomes more searching, and our Lord is led by His own condescension and tenderness for His enemies to withdraw Himself more and more from their notice, he mentions the more and more wonderful miracles, such as the feeding of the five thousand and of the four thousand in the wilderness, and the walking on the waves of the sea. He also draws out the distinctive features of our Lord's teaching during this interval, especially

the teaching by parables, which marked an epoch in the ministry, and the solemn and severe warnings against the cities in which the good seed had been cast in vain. The leading external incident of this time is the murder of St. John the Baptist, and this also is duly related.

But, as to all these subjects, it is evident that St. Matthew proceeds according to an order of his own, which is not the order of time, and this is particularly evident in the case of miracles or anecdotes, which he must himself have been either an eye-witness, or which he must have heard of from those who were almost as soon as they happened. We have now to seek to explain what we conceive to be the order of arrangement in St. Matthew's mind.

The first portion of the part of this Gospel with which we are now dealing appears to bear on its face its leading idea. After the doctrine of our Lord, so carefully and so fully recorded in the chapters which contain the Sermon on the Mount, it is natural that the Evangelist should relate the miracles by which it was confirmed. He had said, indeed, at the close of the account of the Sermon on the Mount that the people were astonished at our Lord's method of teaching, because He taught them as one having authority. This authority, which it was our Lord's will should be perpetuated in the Christian Church, and be her distinctive badge amid the swarm of merely human religions and religious bodies, was one of the prerogatives which naturally belonged to the Teacher sent from God, the Incarnate Word. But it was confirmed and authenticated by a marvellous series of miracles, thousands of which are only recorded in the most general manner by the Evangelists. We see from the words of St. Peter in the Acts that the testimony of miracles was to be used as a formal proof of the authority of our Lord's mission, as indeed He Himself had on more than one occasion appealed to them as His credentials. We see, too, from the short Gospel of St. Mark, which is so almost exclusively occupied with the wonderful works of our Lord, how much this head of instruction was used by the Apostles and their immediate followers in dealing with new converts. Nor, indeed, can there ever be a time when this argument can be safely neglected, for whatever may be the weight of moral miracles, such as the establishment of Christianity or its wonderful effects for the benefit

of society, they are not, after all, the miracles to which our Lord and the Apostles appealed, and they are, moreover, as experience has shown, arguments the force of which not every one can acknowledge.

The chain of miracles which St. Matthew has selected to follow his summary of the doctrine of our Lord, seems to be arranged with reference to the various kinds of power shown by Him Who wrought them. First comes the "sacred disease," the leprosy. The cure of the leper in question seems to have struck the disciples and the people in general very forcibly, partly perhaps on account of the manner in which it was wrought, by our Lord's own touch, which, according to the letter of the law, would have defiled Him, if it had not conferred healing instead. St. Mark tells us that the result of the publication of this cure by the leper was that our Lord was so pressed that He could not enter into the city, but remained outside in desert places. The next miracle in St. Matthew's arrangement is that of the healing of the centurion's servant, a miracle which seems certainly to have taken place at a time long subsequent to that of the leper. The remarkable faith of the centurion, which was made the subject of special commendation on our Lord's part, the fact that he was a Gentile, for whom the elders of the synagogue interceded, and the fact that the miracle was wrought at a distance, are all circumstances which may have made it very signal among such acts of mercy, though in itself it was a display of the same power over diseases which had been manifested in the former case. St. Matthew's third instance is the case of Peter's wife's mother, who was sick of a fever, and of the multitude of persons afflicted with various diseases, as well of demoniacs who were brought to our Lord in the evening. This circumstance, of which St. Matthew's text gives us no direct explanation, is accounted for by what the other Evangelists tell us of the day which had preceded these miracles. It was the Sabbath day, a very memorable day in the Evangelical history, of which both St. Mark and St. Luke give a very detailed account: the first Sabbath of our Lord's public preaching, it would seem, at Capharnaum, a wonderful contrast to the Sabbath which had preceded it at Nazareth, where our Lord had openly told His townsfolk that He was not sent on that occasion to work miracles in their favour. In Capharnaum, on the contrary, the day had been filled with wonders, the

demoniac in the synagogue had been delivered, the mother of Peter's wife had been cured, and, as soon as the setting sun allowed the people to perform such works of charity without breaking or seeming to break the commandment, the doors had been besieged by a crowd who brought to our Lord their sick or their friends who were possessed by devils. This narrative, therefore, properly belongs to a time before that of the healing of the leper, and much more before that of the cure of the centurion's servant. But the mention of the multitude of sick who were healed and of demoniacs who were set free, will sum up this part of the chain of miracles on which St. Matthew is engaged, and the quotation from Isaias with which he concludes it is in harmony with his ordinary practice of noting the fulfilments of prophecy in our Lord's actions and character.

St. Matthew next passes on to miracles of other kinds. Two very remarkable instances of our Lord's power first over the elements, and then over the devils, were connected together very conveniently in point of time, though they happened long after the miracles of which we have just been speaking. It was, as it seems, after our Lord had begun His new method of teaching by parables, that, seeing Himself pressed by the multitudes, whom He had been teaching from the boat, He desired His Apostles to set sail for the opposite shore of the lake.

The incident, which St. Matthew here inserts, of the two disciples who offered to follow our Lord, one of whom was told that "the foxes have their holes and the birds of the air their nests, but that the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head," while the other, who wished to be allowed to go and bury his father, was answered, "Let the dead bury their dead," is very similar to what St. Luke relates of a period of our Lord's ministry long subsequent to this sail over the lake. As there is nothing in the context to account for the introduction of the incident here, unless St. Matthew remembered it in connection with the beginning of the voyage, it seems natural to suppose that the first application took place both now and also at the time at which it is placed by St. Luke. When we consider that it is the simple offer of service on the part of a man who does not seem to have fully weighed the cost, we shall see nothing unlikely in the supposition that it must have occurred, not once or twice, but hundreds of times.

in the course of our Lord's ministry. Our Lord's proverbial way of expressing His answer on such occasions would naturally make Him put it in the same words. St. Mark adds one more parallel instance, and St. Luke the same instance, adding a third also; but there is no necessity for supposing that either Evangelist means us to understand that the time of the two or the three was identical. It is their rule, and especially the rule of St. Matthew, to class incidents of the same order together, that he may not have to return to them, and this becomes easily intelligible if we remember our original proposition, that the Gospel before us is formed upon records in which the incidents of our Lord's Life were set down singly or in groups, for purposes of illustration.

We return to the series of miracles. Our Lord's power over the wind and waves is exemplified in the touching history of the storm in which He was asleep, while the ship in which He was appeared to be in danger, a history which seems almost as much a prophecy of the frequent apparent dangers of His Church, which nevertheless has within her Him of Whom it was once said, "How great a person is this, that the winds and the sea obey Him!" On the arrival of the little company on the opposite shore, they were met, as St. Matthew tells us, by the two fierce demoniacs who were possessed by the legion of devils. St. Mark and St. Luke add many details to the picture of this marvellous miracle, and especially as to the man who was the principal sufferer, who begged our Lord that he might be allowed to remain with Him, but who was instead sent to bear witness to the mercies of God in his own family and home. But for the outlines of the whole, and in particular for the display of our Lord's power over the devils, St. Matthew's narrative is sufficient, striking exactly the key-note of the lesson.

Thus, without repeating himself—for he has omitted, as we have seen, the instance of the demoniac in the synagogue of Capharnaum at the very outset of the Galilean preaching, though he has mentioned the other miracles of the same day—the Evangelist has given in order miracles of healing first the sacred disease, then another disease, then diseases in general, and of power over demoniacs in general. To these he has not added a wonderful instance of power over wind and water, and over a whole legion of devils. He now turns to another series, several members of which are connected with the preceding in point of time, while the first must have been singularly dear

to his own memory, whether he witnessed it or not, on account of its immediate connection with his own final call to the immediate following and companionship of our Lord. This first miracle is the healing of the paralytic who was let down through the roof into the place where our Lord was teaching. This miracle, in itself not different, as to its effects on the body of the poor sufferer who was its subject, from so many others, has yet a character entirely new as compared with any that have preceded it—a character which stands out prominently in the narrative of each of the three Evangelists who relate it. For it was made the occasion of a distinct assertion on the part of our Lord to the power of forgiving sins, a power hitherto unclaimed by priest, saint, or prophet, but which it was in the providence of His Father to confer upon the Sacred Humanity of His Son, and, in consequence, upon the Church in which the endowments of that Sacred Humanity are continued throughout all time. This is, in a few words, the peculiar and singular importance of this miracle, which was worked by our Lord as a proof, not only generally of His divine mission and power, but that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins; and so it was understood by the people, who glorified God Who had given such authority (*ἐξουσίαν*) to men. This fully accounts for its insertion into this chain of St. Matthew, who, however, as has been said, had a special personal reason for remembering this wonderful act of our Lord's, since it was in passing from the scene of the miracle to the seashore that Jesus Christ had cast His eye upon him as he was sitting "at the receipt of custom," and said to him, "Follow Me."

Here, again, the direct series of miracles is for a moment interrupted, but in a manner perfectly intelligible, when we call to mind what has already been said as to the method of St. Matthew and the materials out of which the Gospel had to be put together. Four more miracles, each of them remarkable and distinct in kind or in the circumstances connected with it, have yet to be added to make the chain complete; and these four are all distinctly connected in order of time. It would seem that when this was the case the Evangelist selected such miracles in preference to others, and it is easy to see how natural such a selection becomes when a more continuous history has to be woven together. These four miracles are, first the raising of the daughter of Jairus, the ruler of the synagogue, from the dead—the only instance of

our Lord's power over death which St. Matthew has related. The second of these is closely connected with the first, for the healing of the woman with an issue of blood took place while our Lord was in the midst of the crowd which was accompanying Him to the house of Jairus; it was made manifest by our Lord Himself, contrary to His usual injunction, and was used by Him to confirm the faith of the father of the girl, who had left her in her agony, and had received the tidings of her death on his way home in company with our Lord. Two other miracles follow, by the first of which our Lord restored sight to the two blind men who called after Him, "Have mercy on us, Son of David!" whom He did not heal till they came to Him in the house, and who so entirely disregarded His injunctions to silence. In the second instance a dumb man possessed by a devil is also brought to Him, as it seems, also indoors, and thus the cycle, so to call it, of the miracles grouped together by St. Matthew is completed by instances in which impaired senses are either restored or quickened to full and perfect use, while at the same time the comments of the Pharisees on the last miracle furnish the Evangelist with the opportunity of closing this part of the Gospel in the mournful words, "The Pharisees said, In the ruler of the devils He casteth out the devils."

The interruption in the direct narrative of the series of miracles of which we have been speaking, by which the account of the paralytic is separated from the history of the daughter of Jairus and the woman with an issue of blood, needs but little explanation. St. Matthew's own call, the banquet which followed it, and the criticism made thereon by the Pharisees, that He ate and drank with publicans and sinners, together with our Lord's most merciful and condescending answer: "They that are whole do not need a physician, but they that are sick," and, "I am not come to call the just, but sinners to penance," furnish a series of characteristic incidents which has not been omitted by any of the strictly historical Evangelists, and even if some short space of time may have intervened between the call of St. Matthew and the supper in his house, the most natural place for him, as for the others, to insert them in the narrative would be immediately after that call. On the other hand, it is clear from St. Matthew's own statement,<sup>6</sup> that the somewhat similar objection or question, put by the disciples of

<sup>6</sup> ix. 18.

St. John Baptist about fasting, answered so beautifully by our Lord with a reference to the image of the bridegroom and his friend, which had been used by St. John to his own disciples of himself and Jesus Christ, was actually put to the latter just before Jairus came to claim His assistance for his dying child. It belongs, in truth, to the continuation of the narrative related in the earlier part of this chain of miracles, of the calming of the tempest and the casting out of the legion of devils on the opposite coast, just after the teaching by means of parables. St. Matthew thus passed naturally from the objection of the Pharisees at the banquet to the question of the disciples of St. John, prefixing, however, to the account of the latter the general note of time which does not signify any sequence or connection.<sup>7</sup> His object is to get to the miracle of the daughter of Jairus, while his love of grouping similar things together—whether they were already connected or not as subjects of catechetical teaching before the Gospel was composed—makes him insert the answer to the disciples of St. John immediately after the answer to the Pharisees.

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<sup>7</sup> As a general rule it may be laid down that the adverb *τότε* in St. Matthew is to be understood as designating the time of what follows, not of what precedes—as we should say in English, “At the time of which we are going to speak,” or, “At a certain time,” “Once,” “Once upon a time.” This is perfectly intelligible if we assume what is supposed throughout this paper, and indeed would not be questioned by any critic, that the Gospels are made up of detached pieces joined together in one narrative by their authors. Thus the notes of time, *τότε, ἐν ἑπτῃ τῷ καρπῷ, iv τῇ ημερῇ ἐκείνῃ,* correspond in signification very much to the words with which the “Gospels” in the Missal begin, *In illo tempore.* When St. Matthew means to signify sequence, he takes pains to express it, as in the chapter before us (ch. ix.), he connects the miracle on the paralytic with his own vocation by the words *καὶ παράγων εἰδένειν*, and the answer to the disciples of St. John with the request of Jairus by the words, *τὰῦτα ἀντοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτοῖς, οἴοι ἀρχῶν, &c.* The same method of direct connection is observable as to the two last miracles of the chapter—the first is connected with the raising of the daughter of Jairus, the second with the first. Any one who will take the trouble to go through St. Matthew’s Gospel and note his manner of introducing his several paragraphs will see the truth of what we say. Yet ignorance of this simple rule has caused infinite trouble to Harmonists, and has made many others give up Harmony as impossible.

## *A Vacation Ramble in Germany.*

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### PART THE SECOND.

AND now a few words with respect to those four noble churches which serve so well to illustrate the unity of action and the results it has achieved. The Royal Chapel of All Saints, which was the first to be erected, was designed by Klenze (who deserves especial mention as the architect of so many of the chief edifices which adorn Munich), and is frequently described as a copy of St. Mark's, Venice. This is unjust alike to the venerable marvel of Venice and to Klenze himself, and will surely lead to much disappointment to those who visit All Saints under such misconception. The plain façade at Munich bears no resemblance to the glorious one at Venice, and indeed might be passed by a hasty tourist (who perhaps is doing Munich in a couple of days), without staying for a moment his hurried steps. And when the church is entered it is found to have a character of its own which rivets attention and quickly dispels all thoughts of Venice. True, there are cupolas, but no external dome; true also there is throughout rich pictures upon a gold ground, but while St. Mark's is lined with mosaics, All Saints is entirely painted in fresco. And then, again, the designs differ as much in character as in material. The grim, stern figures which produce so striking an effect at Venice, now flashing out in the light of a passing sun ray, and anon retiring into a mystic gloom, which seems to be their more congenial element—how different are these from the brilliant and yet deeply religious groups with which Hess and his school have glorified the walls of the royal chapel! The architect and painter have combined to produce a church which leaves a far deeper impression on the mind than many an edifice of far greater pretensions.

The Church of St. Louis was begun before All Saints was finished; and here the architect Gärtner worked in union with

the sculptor Schwanthaler, and the painter Cornelius. All these men of mark have wrought well, but we think not so effectively as Klenze and Hess. The design is Lombardic with two lofty towers. Here, as in All Saints, the frescoes have a unity of design which raises them far above mere decoration. If the architecture teaches by its forms and embodies in its mystic divisions Catholic dogma, so do these frescoes continue and further illustrate the same great truths; filling in, as it were, the details of the grander outlines, and bringing down to less enlightened minds the teaching which may escape them in its too lofty flight. As at All Saints the frescoes culminate in interest and execution with Hess' nobler altarpiece of the Mother of God, so here at St. Louis, Cornelius has reserved for his own hands the chief design, perhaps his best work, the awful subject of the Last Judgment which fills the east end of a church which happily has no east window. Schwanthaler has done his best, and how much that means all who are acquainted with his noble and majestic figures can well understand, in the statues of our Blessed Lord and the four Evangelists as well as in the colossal figures of SS. Peter and Paul which adorn the west front.

The next in order of erection is the parish church of Maria Hilf (*Auxilium Christianorum*), in one of the suburbs of the city. This is pointed Gothic, by Ohlmüller, and is chiefly remarkable for its painted windows which were executed under the direction of Hess in the china manufactory at Munich. The credit for this revival of glass staining must, however, be given to those to whom it is due; and so we must trace it some thirty miles from Munich to Benedictbeuern, where Fraunhofer, the celebrated optician, manufactured his scientific glass, and where Franks has brought back the glorious colour of other days to illustrate the picture designs of modern artists.

Much controversy has prevailed respecting these Munich windows, and critics shake their heads (Lord Burleigh fashion), over these glass pictures—these transparencies, as they contemptuously call them, wherever they are seen; and thanks to the royal munificence of King Louis, they are to be found nearer home, as all who visit, for instance, Cologne Cathedral well know. What is it that offends these stern critics? The colours are bright, that they do not object to; but the drawing is correct and free, and so the picture is intelligible and pleasing. Here seems to be the heresy, for hereon they differ

most undeniably from ancient examples. What do they say? Simply that the whole is a mistake; that the principal is lost sight of in an accessory, that these modern works mislead us to regard church windows as glass pictures framed in stonework, whereas, according to all ancient precedent, they should be stone windows with small and brilliant pieces of coloured glass in them. The frame is made subservient to the picture, whereas these sage critics say the picture should play second to the frame. Be this as it may, we have at any rate bright and glowing windows which rival the brightness of ancient work, while they have a clearness of design and perfection of drawing, both in form and in perspective (another heresy by the way) to which neither their ancient rivals nor their modern copyists can lay claim.

The last and largest of the four churches is the Basilica of St. Boniface: and here undoubtedly Ziebländt owes much to that crowning glory of the right royal munificence of Pius the Ninth, San Paolo fuori le Mura, at Rome. But while the Bavarian architect has had the courage to suggest such vivid memories of the modern glory of old Rome, he has not failed to stamp the impress of his own mind upon his work, and to differ widely from the obvious suggestion. The windows above the grey Tyrolean marble columns are, unlike the Roman, round headed; the medallions of the last thirty-four Popes are paintings on the spandrels of the arches, and not in that Roman mosaic which, in complete series, spreads so majestically around the broad band above on the Roman Basilica; but in compensation for this, which could be scarcely rivalled out of Rome, we have the noble series of twelve large frescoes, on which Hess and others have depicted the life of the great English Apostle of Germany. It is indeed a noble church, this Basilica with its broad nave and four aisles, its marble pavement unencumbered with seats, leading the eye up to the spacious tribune, which, if it has not the venerable frescoes which so suggestively unite the modern San Paolo with its venerable predecessor, can at least boast of as religious and far more beautiful designs, which Hess has executed with his own hands; the first saints and martyrs of Bavaria form, as it were, the ground, above which rises the Redeemer in glory, with His Blessed Mother on one hand, and the Baptist on the other.

King Louis finished this memorial of his silver wedding in 1850, and therein erected his own tomb, a simple and plain,

but large sarcophagus that stands on the right of the western door, and which received his remains eighteen years afterwards. To see St. Boniface's during a High Mass, as we did, when the vast fabric was crowded to the doors; and to hear the solemn and picturesque old music of Palestrina sung by the well-trained choir, interspersed with choral music wherein the whole congregation took its part with true German tone and force, was a thing not to be forgotten; and there, beside that tomb, who could fail to remember him who reposes within, or to offer one prayer for the generous and thoughtful King who built this and such like shrines for the grand old Faith which has so true a home in Bavaria?

But it is time that we turn from these excellent specimens of ecclesiastical architecture which, as we have seen, illustrate the principal periods of the history of that art; so let us wander down the broad Briener Street, and take our stand under the triumphal arch, which King Louis erected to commemorate the new won liberty of Greece. Here it is not difficult to place oneself in such a point of view that the massive arches shut out from sight all but two large buildings. When this is done the traveller might imagine himself to be in some Grecian city—Athens itself perhaps, but Athens, not as now she stands in ruins, but revived. The lofty Propylæum itself is deep enough to form at once the stand-point and the foreground of the classic picture; and through this fitting portal we see, not far off on the left hand, Klenze's Ionic Glyptotheke, and on the right Ziebländ's gallery of the Corinthian order, not unworthy to be its fellow; and as we have said, no other building need enter into the view to destroy the illusion. And when this has been enjoyed to the full, we have but to enter either of these classic buildings to know something of what Munich has done for the sister arts of painting and sculpture. The Glyptotheke (as the sculpture gallery is somewhat pedantically called) is one of Klenze's best and earliest works, and has this high claim to praise, that it is thoroughly fitted for its purpose; strange—yet who will deny its truth—that this first qualification of a building should be so rare as to merit especial notice.

But beyond this first essential there is another characteristic which commends itself at once to the observer, the saloons not only bear the names of the places from which their contents came, but are decorated and, as far as may be, designed in corresponding style. Thus the works of art are in harmony with the

halls that contain them, and the dreary monotony of a museum with its long galleries and shop-like arrangement of contents, is altogether got rid of. The relief thus afforded can be easily imagined, but can hardly be fully appreciated save by those who have enjoyed it. The sight of the Ægina marbles is rather trying to the patience of Englishmen, who remember that they have to content themselves with the plaster casts in the British Museum of works which their own countrymen discovered. However it is some satisfaction to know that they have fallen into good keeping, and that the attempt which has been made at restoration has been by the hands of Thorwaldsen.

Perhaps the gem of this collection is the Barberini Faun, of which sculptors speak and write with much enthusiasm. A gigantic Satyr sleeps, half sitting, half reclining, on a rock; the left arm thrown over the jutting part supports the head, which rests its cheek upon the raised shoulder, while the right arm is thrown upwards and bent at the elbow to prop with the hand the back of the head; the left leg stretches to the lower part of the rock and rests upon the heel, while the right one is drawn upwards and spread open until the foot, on a piece of projecting rock, is nearly on the level with the left knee. There is no beauty in the face or form, but there is nature wonderfully copied in the heavy and yet troubled sleep.

The Corinthian gallery which faces the Glyptothek contains an ever varying collection of modern pictures, which are for sale; perhaps it will be enough to say that its pediment with Schwanthaler's celebrated group is chiefly worthy of careful examination. Klenze is the architect of the picture gallery, the Pinacothek, as it is called, which resembles his Glyptothek only in this, that it is one of the best designed in Europe; and this of course implies both stateliness of building and fitness for its purpose. How seldom these two qualities are combined the reader's experience and memory may inform him; in some places we have stately halls where half the pictures are in the dark, or in that direct glare of light which is still worse because it tantalizes with a pretence; while in others we have mean structures altogether unworthy of the treasures they contain, but which however they contrive to show. But here in the Pinacothek we have both requirements met. The one thousand three hundred pictures are arranged in schools in nine very fine halls, and in numerous small adjoining cabinets; the large pictures are in the former, which are lighted from above, the

small ones in the latter, which are sufficiently supplied with side lights.

The strength of this collection lies in its Early German School, but it is also especially rich in the works of Rubens.

As the Pinacothek is reserved for the works of the old masters, it was natural that the King should erect another gallery for the new school of art which was growing up around him. Thus we have the new Pinacothek, designed by Voit, separated from what is now called the Old Pinacothek only by a street and the gardens in which these galleries stand. For, be it observed, those who built for such purposes took care to secure plenty of light and fresh air, which pictures need as well as living things, and drew back from the noise and the dust of streets the art treasures which suffer by the one as much as those who would enjoy them are distracted by the other. The modern collection numbers at present about four hundred, and among these are some of great repute, such as Kaulbach's best, or at least most renowned, work, the Destruction of Jerusalem, and the Deluge, by Schorn.

These are both of large size and of undoubted merit; full of life and action, but they have too dramatic, or rather, too theatrical an air to satisfy the highest requirements of art. Indeed one may say they well and favourably illustrate the chief characteristic of the prevailing school here, which is a too obvious straining after effect by size and vehement action. The influence of fresco painting is marked herein; the broad walls seem necessary to give full scope to the energy of these painters, while the dash and vigorous handling which is there so essential, seem to unfit the artists for the use of the more delicate pencil on the narrow canvas. It reminds one somewhat painfully, by its loudness, of the heavy fingering of an organist upon a piano; there is too obvious a thumping, which tells of a useful power misapplied. Of course there are many and excellent exceptions to this rule; one cause of which we need not quit the gallery to seek, for is there not there one of Overbeck's best pictures, which by its calm religious character and exquisite finish teaches the very lesson which these impetuous painters require? It is a very unusual treatment of a dear familiar subject, and blends German mysticism with Italian beauty. Our Blessed Lady and St. Elisabeth support the Divine Infant, Who is sitting upon a lamb, while St. John—whose symbolic lamb we may suppose it to be—is playing with

him. Surely the spirit of Raphael was on the great German painter when his hand executed with such exquisite colouring and pure drawing, this art treasure. King Louis did well to hang it here that its influence might be upon the young pupils who come hither for inspiration as well as for instruction. But with all its dash and vigour there is no lack of beauty both of form and face in the figures of the young school. Happily there seems to be almost a total absence of that morbid feeling which made men like Fuseli find strength in ugliness, and vigour in distortion. It is fortunate that Raphael has had more influence over this school than Michelangelo ; and this of course is said without any disrespect to the latter great master, who was not the safest of teachers. In truth, the great sculptor was too great to be safely followed by ordinary mortals, and what has come of the attempt, especially by painters, every frequenter of picture galleries knows to his cost. Now fortunately into none of these fits of nightmare and hideous eccentricities have these Munich painters fallen ; their love of the beautiful has triumphed over the temptations which dangerous subjects have put before them ; and so their most terrible scenes have a charm which is anything but a morbid fascination. And this holds good of their frescoes as well as of their oil paintings, as we should expect seeing that the best artists excel alike in both. And this leads us to say a few words about the frescoes for which Munich is so especially celebrated. Fresco painting indeed may be said to be the strong point of art here ; the great medium through which the artists speak to the world, and the king teaches his lessons of history to his people. What a powerful instrument is it in the hands of a real artist !

The fresco has influence over the minds of men, not only as other pictures have, but through its own special characteristics. Its size commands attention from those who would pass unnoticed a smaller painting, and so it gains a larger audience and seizes upon minds which other forms of art could not reach. This is in itself no small power ; but beyond this, its position has to be considered. It is just where it can best do its work ; on the very spot and surrounded by the very accessories which give it a special significance ; it has the full benefit of the association of ideas, and these are its best interpreters, while at the same time they best fit the mind to grasp and make its own that interpretation. Again and beyond this, it does not stand alone even as a picture ; but, unlike most other paintings, it

gains by its association with those around it. How few paintings are there in galleries which do not suffer by companionship, nor injure others which hang near them; but frescoes are generally painted in a series, and derive strength from their associates. With these special advantages added to those which are common to most other pictures, it is obvious that they are in themselves a special power; limited, it is true, to the one spot from which they cannot be moved, but there, so grand a field for a great artist that he is willing to forego the wider reputation which the presence of his works in other lands would give him, and to devote himself to a narrower circle with its concentrated and local influence.

This seems to have been thoroughly understood in Munich, both by its chief painters and their royal patron. And thus it is that we have frescoes everywhere, and naturally in every condition. The history of the art, indeed, may be read here from its weak and unsuccessful beginnings to the maturity which yet shows no signs of decline. There are poor and faded frescoes enough in Munich to console those who mourn so despondingly over our own colourless and ragged ruins in Westminster, while there are bright and glowing pictures by the score which tell how perseverance will be rewarded, and how mistakes of material and position may be corrected.

To see the sad beginnings of what has grown to such vigorous manhood, it is worth while walking through the only dull and dreary spot we remember in Munich, and that is the open arcade of the Hofgarten. The garden itself is not a cheerful spot, for the trees look dusty, and the grass, if grass it ever had, has long since died away. But the utter weariness which comes over one in wandering down the long arcade and looking at the dingy frescoes, which have not died out—that could be endured and perhaps respectfully mourned over—but which have passed into a ghastly opacity, a kind of life in death which haunts one like a nightmare. These were the first experiments which Cornelius directed, and tyros worked at, when the revival of fresco-painting began: and so it is they have an interest, and perhaps a value, in the history of the art. But in truth it is a trial to read this dreary page. However, there they are; and all who think that failure in this line is peculiarly English, should make a pilgrimage to the Hofgarten and amend their judgment. But there is no need to go so far as Munich to find out that frescoes will not withstand the

withering influence of damp ; and that to preserve their brightness, and indeed their colours, it is necessary to paint them where damp can be excluded ; that is to say, in such climates as these, in warm and well ventilated rooms. We remember not very many years ago watching with no small interest the artists working upon the walls of the Neue Trinkhalle at Baden Baden, and felt how bright and cheerful the pictures were which were then growing into life under their skilful and busy hands. And what are those frescoes now ? In their dim and faded obscurity they mock their former brightness, and spotted with hideous leprosy, they seem most in need of the healing waters which are distributed and imbibed within. Indeed we know no place on this side of the Alps where frescoes retain their freshness in exposed positions ; and this applies to those in cold corridors as well as to those altogether in the open air. In a word, a fresco with us must not be *al fresco*. But when properly treated, which means no more than but certainly as much as oil paintings receive, frescoes will retain their brightness of colour and clearness of surface for many years. Munich gives us examples of this, which have many of them stood the ordeal of forty and fifty years without any signs of decay. How numerous these examples are it is almost impossible to say ; for they meet the traveller at every turn : in the churches, as we have seen, in the royal palace, and even in the public galleries ; for statues stand in the midst of them, museums have their walls covered with them, and the very saloons where oil paintings hang, have their anti-rooms and staircases decorated with frescoes. And generally, as far as our memory serves, they are bright and fresh, and seem to promise a long and lasting future.

The new buildings of the Royal Palace well illustrate the use to which frescoes can be turned for popular instruction. The old palace is like most of its kind, rich in antique furniture, and boasts of the dim glories which old mirrors and second-rate family portraits in heavy frames seem made to sustain. It is neither worse nor better than numbers of its class, one, at least, of which may be met with in every German city of even third-rate repute. But in Munich the old buildings are inclosed on three sides with additions which give them a claim to a closer and more careful inspection and which indeed place them among the most interesting in Europe. The part which faces the public square, and which we have already noticed as, externally, a

weak copy of the Pitti Palace at Florence, is call the King's house (*der Königsbau*), and is chiefly remarkable for the frescoes which adorn five halls, and which from their subject give them their name of *Nibelunger Säle*. These are painted by Julius Schnorr; the last room, however, we believe he did not live to complete. Walls, ceiling, lunettes, every available space is filled with large or small drawings, illustrative of the great national legend, alike in its literal and its mystic meaning; each room being devoted to a separate epoch, and bearing its name: thus we have, the entrance hall with introductory figures; the marriage hall, the hall of treachery, the hall of revenge, and the hall of lamentation. These frescoes are in excellent condition, without a sign of decay, and they have already lasted nearly fifty years.

The other portion of the new buildings faces the opposite way, and overlooks the Hofgarten. It contains the State apartments, and is therefore called the Festsaalbau. And here we have a series of noble rooms which are as beautiful in their proportion as they are unusual in their decoration.

The ball-room is a Pompeian revival with *relievi* by Schwanthaler, the card-room is filled with portraits of the beauties of Munich; and as the fair gift is not confined by nature to any one class, so the painters have sought and found in every order of society those who could best illustrate the chosen subject; and thus has been formed a collection very different in moral character from that which is so familiar at Hampton Court. The banquet hall is decorated with battle scenes, of course with victories in which Bavaria played a winning part in the eventful period between 1805 and 1814; while the three halls which lead on the other side from the ball-room to the presence-chamber are filled with noble frescoes devoted to the glories of three German heroes, Charlemagne, Frederick Barbarossa, and Rudolph of Hapsburg. The presence chamber itself is without paintings of any kind; its walls and columns are simply in white and gold. This throws out into prominence the throne itself which stands elevated at the upper end in rich and grave simplicity; while as the only decoration of the grand room stand twelve colossal statues in gilt bronze by Schwanthaler, each ten feet high, ranged on each side of the hall between the lofty pillars. Through these fine saloons the general public of every rank and degree are allowed daily to pass—at least when the weather is fine and there is no danger

from muddy boots—not of course at all hours and at their will, but at a fixed time and under proper guidance. This arrangement not only insures proper order and due protection, but affords a means of conveying the needful explanation which converts what with so many would be but a vacant stare into a useful and pleasing lesson. Nor is this explanation forced upon any one. Each visitor is free to move about and follow his own fancy, provided he limits himself to the one or two rooms which are open at the same time, and which are closed when the next series is thrown open. It is a pleasant sight to watch the general public—country folks on a visit to the capital, parents with children home from school, as well as the ever and everywhere present tourist, following the authority as he slowly marches round the rooms and lectures upon the works of art before him. His style may be somewhat pedantic and his pronouncements dogmatic, but he evidently understands what he is talking about and does not hurry his audience through the rooms nor content himself with a bare enumeration.

Would not something of the same kind, we said to ourselves, be of great use at some of our institutions at home—the British Museum, for instance—where such intelligent and courteous curators as we fortunately possess, seem to be useless to the general public, because there is no organized way in which they can communicate the information they have acquired to those around them who are really thirsting for it.

While we looked at the bright and pleased faces of those who were evidently enjoying their visit to the palace, and who were turning to such good account the real privilege granted them by their King, we could not help contrasting them with the wearied and puzzled looks of our own people who as willing and able as the people at Munich to enjoy what they understand, naturally feel but disappointment and confusion in the midst of large collections thrown open to them without a guide. Catalogues, however cheap and well compiled, can never be a satisfactory substitute to the generality of people for the living expositor, the speaking guide.

We have dwelt at some length on Munich, and must hasten on in our wanderings; but ere we do so, we must say a word or two on another subject which, taking its rise here must naturally be looked for in its turn. The "music of the future" is so intimately connected with the name of Richard Wagner, and his with his royal patron the reigning monarch of Bavaria,

that Wagner and Munich can hardly be separated, and certainly the city cannot be left without at least a word of him who confers so much celebrity upon it. It was to us a matter of no small regret that we had no opportunity of hearing any one of his operas. This was not owing to any want of popularity on his part, but to the circumstance that our visit to Germany being in the out-of-town months of July and August, we found every opera house except the one at Berlin closed. This changed the character, if not the quantity of the music within our reach, and prevented us from hearing any complete work by Wagner. A disadvantage this which tells perhaps more against such a composer than against any other, at least of a different school. That Wagner's music is popular and that it is growing in popularity is obvious enough, at least in Germany, where it is best known. We do not remember a single programme at any of the many concerts we heard—and every German town as well as city has its nightly concert in one or more of its public gardens—wherein Wagner's music did not occupy a chief place, and was not listened to with the most attention, and received with the most applause. Those who cater for the public take good care to learn the public taste, and when conductors like Gung'l, Strauss, and Marchner give but the second place to their own brilliant and showy compositions, and honour, as the popular favourite, so profound a thinker, and so severe a composer as Richard Wagner, we may be sure that the music of the new school is making its way, indeed has already made its way, into the hearts of the most musical people in Europe.

And surely there is matter for rejoicing in this, not merely in an artistic but in a moral point of view. Wagner is sadly misunderstood among us; if not by musical critics (who are perhaps beginning to see what is in him from their own point of view) at least by many who can enjoy and appreciate what is good without technical knowledge. Aiming at a far higher ideal than had contented those who had gone before him; a poet himself as well as a musician, his attempt has been to promote works of art in which these two separate branches unite; and to withdraw the public heart "from the lascivious tendencies of the opera and the ballet to a more serious tendency in the dramatic musical art." He raises music and poetry to a higher and nobler rank than many are disposed, from what they see and hear around them, to assign to them,

and would supersede the trashy libretto (of which Voltaire said, "Ce qui est trop sot pour être dit on le chante"), the maukish melody and the poor accompaniment, the "sustained tunelessness serving as a background for the melody," as Wagner calls it, by that mutual penetration (*durchdringung*) of music and poetry which would realize his own beautiful thought, expressed by him in language which deserves to be carefully weighed and pondered over for its truth. "Indeed, the greatness of the poet is mostly to be measured by what he leaves untold, so that we may silently tell ourselves the inexpressible—the musician it is who gives voice to that which has remained untold, and the infallible form of his sounding silence is infinite melody."

We are tempted to quote a longer passage from the pamphlet we have already used (*The Music of the Future*, by R. Wagner), because it not only shows what the poet-musician means by melody, but because we believe it will help us to understand the music of his choruses especially, which at first perplexes by the very richness and singular beauty of the harmonies and accompaniments.

I must once more have recourse to metaphor in order finally to point out to you the characteristic of the large melody which comprises the whole dramatic musical piece, and to this end refer to the impression it must produce. The infinitely rich and ramified details of it are to reveal themselves not only to the connoisseur, but also to the most naive layman as soon as he may be sufficiently collected to receive the impression. Its effect upon him is to be at first similar to that of a fine forest of a summer night on a solitary visitor, who has just left the town noise behind him; the peculiarity of this impression upon the soul, which an experienced reader can develope for himself in all its effects, consists in the perception of the ever-growing eloquence of silence. As far as the work of art is concerned, it may in general be deemed sufficient to have produced this fundamental impression, and by its means imperceptibly to guide the hearer and to dispose him towards a higher intention; he thus unconsciously receives in himself the higher tendency. Just as a visitor to the woods, overcome by the total impression, rests to collect his thoughts, and then, gradually straining the powers of his soul, distinguishes more and more clearly, as it were with new senses, the multitudinous forest voices. He hears songs such as he believes never to have heard before, multiplied they gain in strange power, louder and louder they grow; and however many voices or separate songs he hears, the overpowering clear swelling sound appears as the one great forest melody, which at first disposed him to devotion, like unto the deep blue sky of night which at other times attracted his eye, until, being completely absorbed in the night, he beheld more

distinctly the countless hosts of stars. This melody will never cease to haunt him; but repeat or hum it he cannot. To hear it again he must return to the woods on a summer night. Would it not be folly if he were to catch a sweet wood bird, so as to train it at home to whistle a fragment of that great forest melody? And what would he hear if he succeeded—which melody?

It is well for opera music when one who can think thus deeply, should take in hand a form of art which has scarcely ever had justice done to it, and should succeed, as Wagner has already done, in popularizing what is far above the ordinary level. It is surely also well that his influence should extend alike over Prince and people, and that the mind and taste of a young ruler should be thus elevated to higher views of music than the ordinary fashion of the day proposes.

The influence of Wagner for good extends, as all good influences must do, beyond its own immediate sphere. He who feels the Church music of the elder school to be "of such wonderful power, stirring the heart to its very depth, that the effects of no other art can be compared to it;" and who has the courage to assert that "from the prosperity of opera in Italy the art-student will date the decline of music in that country," and who appeals as witnesses for the truth of his assertion as "to those who have any conception of the grandeur, the wealth, and the ineffable depth of earlier Italian church music, and who, for instance, after hearing Palestrina's 'Stabat Mater,' will never dream of maintaining that Italian opera can be looked upon as the legitimate daughter of that wondrous mother," such a one must have had no small share in raising to its present state the character of the music we hear in the churches of Munich.

Under such guidance, and with such an exponent, we need have little misgivings for, what has been called in derision, the "Music of the Future;" but which is only so far "future" in that it aims at what the past has missed, and holds out, as every great art must do, a higher ideal than has yet been reached.

H. B.

### *Mr. Mill's Essay on Nature.*

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THE word Nature may be taken, as philosophers would say, either materially or formally. Taken materially, the nature of a thing means the thing itself, considered as apt to operate or to be operated upon. In this sense, nature differs from essence or being, not really, but only in the consideration of our minds, inasmuch as, when we say essence, we regard a thing as it is in itself, and when we say nature, we regard a thing in its active and passive powers. Thus the nature of the planet Jupiter means the planet itself, as apt to attract other bodies and to be attracted by them, to reflect light, to rotate on its axis, and so forth. This meaning of nature is common in the writings of the Greek philosophers and of the medieval schoolmen. It is to be seen in those of Lord Bacon. But such is not the common meaning of nature in the English of the present day. Taken formally, the nature of a thing means the aptness of a thing of itself to operate or to be operated upon. And this is the sense in which we now-a-days ordinarily speak of the nature of a thing. We say in this sense that it is the nature of an animal to eat, the nature of a baby to cry, and that it is not the nature of water to flow up-hill. Besides the nature of a single thing, we speak of Nature in general, using that term either materially, to denote all creatures in respect of their having active and passive powers, or formally, to denote the activities and passivities of all creatures. We say that God is the Author of Nature, meaning that He has made all creatures, and endowed them each with the activity and passivity proper to itself.

Natures, in the material use of the word, are of two sorts, brute natures and intelligent natures. A brute nature, so far as itself is concerned, must necessarily do whatever it does, and must necessarily suffer whatever is done to it: it cannot help itself. Stones, hills, the sea, the stars, insects, dogs, are of the

number of brute natures. An intelligent nature cannot help certain things that it does or that are done to it; but many things that it does it can help, and might not do, though it does them: an intelligent nature is free. Such a nature, for instance, is that of adult man. Hence it appears that a brute nature necessarily comes up to the full measure of perfection ordained for it by God. It is a vessel filled to the brim by the same hand that made it. But as for an intelligent nature, it may or may not come up to its proper measure of perfection, according as it wills. It is a vessel filled half-full by God, and endowed with a natural power of itself filling up the other half.<sup>1</sup> It ought to do so, but it is not forced. The perfection of that intelligent nature is to be the partial fruit at least of its own free efforts. The gaining of such perfection is not a necessity but a duty.

It is, I say, the duty of an intelligent nature to live up to itself. This is what is signified to man, when he is bidden to live according to nature. The nature there spoken of is his own. He is told to "do all that does become a man." No such rule is laid down for brute natures, for stocks and stones. They cannot help doing what becomes them; and therefore the becoming and the unbecoming is not predicated of them, but only of creatures who may, if they will, fall short of the perfection that is due to the nature given them by God. It is to be observed that, in this precept of living according to nature, the word Nature stands for a man's whole nature, not for a portion of it to the prejudice of the rest. Human nature is composed of a rational, an irascible, and a concupiscent part, or of reason, anger, and desire. So the parts are enumerated by Plato in his "Republic," which work is an invincible demonstration, if demonstration were needed, that the perfection of a man's nature, as a whole, consists in reason's commanding anger and governing desire. Hereby we discern when it is right to do what is natural, and when wrong. It is right to do that, and that only, which accords with the whole of our nature. The undue indulgence of the appetites is partially natural, inasmuch as it suits the appetites to be indulged indefinitely, but such indulgence is against reason: now as it is natural to appetite to desire, so is it natural to reason, and natural to a reasonable animal as such—natural therefore to man as man—to regulate desire: hence for man to gratify his desires indiscriminately,

<sup>1</sup> Of course in philosophy we speak only of natural virtue.

though natural to a part of his being, is unnatural to him on the whole, and consequently wrong.

The above are a few very elementary principles of philosophy, that might be delivered in the shape of an opening lecture to a class of young gentlemen in their teens, just setting foot on the threshold of the Great Science. And I have found need to rehearse them over the grave of one who was esteemed, and in some sort really was, the greatest English philosopher of his day. They bear upon an elaborate posthumous work of his, which, if these plain elementary truths had been borne in mind, would never have been written. The "Essay on Nature," the first of Mr. Mill's, "Three Essays on Religion," flowed from his pen, as his Editor tells us, between the years 1850 and 1858. For fifteen years he kept this Essay by him, pondering and readjusting it; and in 1873, the year of his death, "It was his intention to have published it at once, with only such slight revision as might be judged necessary in preparing it for the press, but substantially in its present form."<sup>2</sup>

At the end of the Essay Mr. Mill sums up his conclusions as follows :

The word Nature has two principal meanings : it either denotes the entire system of things, with the aggregate of all their properties, or it denotes things as they would be, apart from human intervention.

In the first of these senses, the doctrine that man ought to follow nature is unmeaning ; since man has no power to do anything else than follow nature ; all his actions are done through, and in obedience to, some one or many of nature's physical or mental laws.

In the other sense of the term, the doctrine that man ought to follow nature, or in other words, ought to make the spontaneous course of things the model of his voluntary actions, is equally irrational and immoral.

Irrational, because all human action whatever, consists in altering, and all useful action in improving, the spontaneous course of nature :

Immoral, because the course of natural phenomena being replete with everything which when committed by human beings is most worthy of abhorrence, any one who endeavoured in his actions to imitate the natural course of things would be universally seen and acknowledged to be the wickedest of men.

That the word Nature sometimes stands for "the entire system of things," that is, for all creation, I have already said : and that sometimes again it means things as they go on without

<sup>2</sup> Introductory Notice, p. viii.

man, I also allow. But that when man is bidden to live according to nature, the word Nature is to be understood in either of these two senses, I altogether deny. It is not enjoined upon man as a moral obligation that his case should present no exception to the uniformities that are universal throughout creation ; as, for instance, that he should gravitate as a body, that as an animal he should breathe, or that, as an intellectual and moral agent, he should in general apprehend what is true and rejoice in what is good : there is no moral precept to do these things, for it is impossible for any man to do otherwise. Still less is he enjoined to imitate in his behaviour inanimate natures, to be as wild as the sea, as destructive as the hurricane, or as insidious as an epidemic. None but a man that will not understand could put so monstrous a construction on the time-honoured rule of morality, "Live according to nature." The nature there spoken of is not the nature of the whole universe, nor the nature of the wind or of the sea : it is the nature of the man himself to whom the precept is addressed. In man, "what is, constitutes the rule and standard of what ought to be," to borrow Mr. Mill's formula.<sup>8</sup>

As Mr. Mill declares that the examination of this formula is the object of his *Essay*, we also must examine it in particular. Instead of a man, let us first apply it to an acorn planted in the ground. Here the notion proves to be inapplicable in strictness. It cannot be said, "What the acorn is, constitutes the rule and standard of what it ought to be," for the verb *ought* properly involves moral obligation, of which an acorn is incapable. But if we let out and loosen the denotation of that verb *ought*, paring away the idea of moral obligation connoted by it to an idea of mere physical potentiality, then the proposition, as above worded, will stand to mean, that what the acorn is, constitutes the rule and standard of what it is apt to become, and of what it will become, unless its development be arrested. Let us pass from the acorn to a child ten years old. Some one predicates of him that what he is, constitutes the rule and standard of what he ought to be. Mr. Mill stigmatizes the saying as ludicrously absurd—with what justice, it remains for us to inquire. The child at present actually is something—clearly ; he ought moreover to be something, in the strict sense of the term *ought*, for he is a moral agent. It is affirmed that what the child actually is,

<sup>8</sup> P. 13. Second Edition.

is the rule which determines what he ought to be. He is a child, therefore it is not his duty to display the gravity and self-command and wisdom of a man. On the other hand, he is not a wolf's cub or a lion's whelp, but a human being, enjoying the use of a certain amount of reason: so far, therefore, it is his duty to employ that reason to moderate the outbreaks of his temper. Should he fail in this, he commits upon himself a perversion of which the acorn is incapable: namely, he acts against his nature, he hinders his own development in the moral order, he does wrong. On the contrary, if he makes the most of what he is, and does what he can, in the way of self-formation and self-discipline, he is living according to nature, he is doing for himself freely what the acorn does for itself, because of an irresistible innate tendency; accordingly, he arrives at the proper perfection of his nature, and as the acorn becomes a healthy oak, he becomes a healthy moral agent, a virtuous man.

The rule, "Live according to nature," was unintelligible to Mr. Mill simply on this account, that free will found no place in his philosophy. He viewed the individual man, John Jobson, as a sort of cog-wheel, geared into other cog-wheels, all going round according to invariable laws, spinning out phenomena. In this view, the state of the universe of mind and matter at any given moment infallibly determined its state for the moment next succeeding, and that again for the moment following, and so on from the beginning to the end of history. Universal Nature was the potentiality of all phenomena: the nature of John Jobson was a fragment of Universal Nature. Nature was to Mr. Mill an algebraical expression for the sum of phenomenon *a*, plus phenomenon *b*, plus phenomenon *c*, &c., *a*, *b*, *c*, &c., being fixed quantities, following one another with absolute certainty of sequence. Looking at things thus, Mr. Mill saw no good in the precept, addressed to John Jobson, to live according to nature. It might, he thought, bear the following meaning: "Here you are, a wheel in a machine that cannot stop or err in its predestined workings: see that you go round in the machine." Upon this he naively remarked that there was no doing otherwise. The only remaining interpretation that occurred to him was, "Behave as if you were not a man, but a power of the elements." And that, he observed, would be a very wicked thing to do. So he wrote an insurrectionary pamphlet against Nature, and kept it by him, and

meditated it long, till, just as he was about to bring it forth, Nature interfered, and he was no more.

I maintain that, "Live according to nature," coincides with the Delphic rule, "Know thyself," and means, "Live up to thyself." And this is an intelligible sense, to those minds at least who make any meaning out of Shakespeare's golden words :

To thine own self be true,  
And it must follow, as the night the day,  
Thou canst not then be false to any man.

A life, then, according to nature is a life of conscious truth to self. Truth is a sort of equation, or correspondence of one thing with another ; it involves some manner of duality. How, therefore, can a man be true to himself ? Is he not always one and the same man, whatever he does ? In reply to this question I observe that we may distinguish in man two selves, an ideal self and an actual self : truth to self consists in bringing the actual into conformity with the ideal. This conformity does not necessarily exist, but has to be brought about, under God, by the man's personal exertions. This is a duty, which he can fulfil or neglect as he chooses, for he is physically free, and only morally obliged, in the matter. In any other but a free agent, the ideal and the actual necessarily coincide. Thus a stone is true to itself and cannot be otherwise. It is perfect as a stone, so long as it endures : it cannot fall away from its nature. Were we all like stones, that is to say, were we brute necessitated exhibitors of phenomena, as the positive philosophy argues us to be, it would be vain to hold up, as the standard of duty, conformity to nature. Do what we would, we should always be conformed to nature. If nature were evil, we might, if it permitted us, bewail it or revile it, as Mr. Mill does, but we never could depart from it.

It may be objected that, since the ideal self is self as it ought to be, and the actual self is self as it is, if the precept of conformity to nature means that we should square the actual with the ideal, it comes to no more than this, that we should bring ourselves to be what we ought to be, a very superfluous piece of advice.<sup>4</sup> I should call the advice simple, rather than superfluous. The rule, however, of living according to nature contains more than this translation shows. The rule teaches us to find out what we ought to be by considering what we are.

<sup>4</sup> See Mr. Mill's remarks, pp. 13, 14.

It discovers to us in our actual self the germ of the ideal self. It warns us that we cannot render that ideal abortive without doing violence to our present being. It promises us that if we will cherish our powers, they will thrive. "To him that hath shall be given: but from him that hath not, even that which he seemeth to have shall be taken away."

It appears that "the doctrine that man ought to follow nature" bears neither of the alternative interpretations that Mr. Mill attempts to fix upon it. It is accordingly vindicated from his charge of being either "unmeaning" on the one hand, or "irrational and immoral" on the other.

Mr. Mill brands this doctrine with yet another censure—a light one, to be sure, in his eyes—that of being untheological. He writes—

The Christian theology, during the period of its greatest ascendancy, opposed some, though not a complete, hindrance to the modes of thought which erected Nature into the criterion of morals, inasmuch as, according to the creed of most denominations of Christians (though assuredly not of Christ), man is by nature wicked.<sup>5</sup>

What is here styled "the creed of most denominations of Christians" is in fact the creed of Calvin and Jansenius. But the Catholic Church believes and teaches that whatever is natural to man is so far good, and is rendered evil only by voluntary abuse: that wickedness is unnatural to him as a whole, inasmuch as it is opposed to his reason, which is his ruling faculty: and that his nature is of itself apt to elicit acts of natural virtue, which natural virtue however, in the present order of God's providence, is not sufficient to merit heaven, for the gaining of which there is granted to nature a supernatural assistance.

Seeing that the reproach of absurdity or immorality, which Mr. Mill has sought to cast upon the precept of living according to nature, has been proved to have arisen from an entire misconception of the terms of the law, we might here take our leave of him and of his Essay. But the most virulent and poisonous element of it has not yet been noticed. No Manichean, probably, ever raved in more violent language against the order of nature, that is, against creation as God has willed it to be, than Mr. Mill does in this Essay. Therefore it becomes a

<sup>5</sup> P. 10. Evidently, Mr. Mill never read St. John Chrysostom's Thirteenth Homily upon the Epistle to the Romans.

creature, who thinks the world as God made it "very good," to say a word in praise and vindication of his Maker's work.

The following is a specimen of the disgraceful language which Mr. Mill has permitted himself to use—

Killing, the most criminal act recognized by human laws, Nature does once to every being that lives; and in a large proportion of cases, after protracted tortures such as only the greatest monsters whom we read of ever purposely inflicted on their fellow-creatures. . . . Nature impales men, breaks them as if on the wheel, casts them to be devoured by wild beasts, burns them to death, crushes them with stones like the first Christian martyr, starves them with hunger, freezes them with cold, poisons them by the quick or slow venom of her exhalations, and has hundreds of other hideous deaths in reserve, such as the ingenious cruelty of a Nabis or a Domitian never surpassed. All this, Nature does with the most supercilious disregard both of mercy and justice, emptying her shafts upon the best and noblest indifferently with the meanest and worst; upon those who are engaged in the highest and worthiest enterprizes, and often as the direct consequence of the noblest acts; and it might almost be imagined as a punishment for them. She mows down those on whose existence hangs the well-being of a whole people, perhaps the prospects of the human race for generations to come, with as little compunction as those whose death is a relief to themselves, or a blessing to those under their noxious influence. Such are Nature's dealings with life. Even when she does not intend to kill, she inflicts the same tortures in apparent wantonness. In the clumsy provision which she has made for the perpetual renewal of animal life, rendered necessary by the prompt termination she puts to it in every individual instance, no human being ever comes into the world but another being is literally stretched on the rack for hours or days, not unfrequently issuing in death. . . . Everything, in short, which the worst men commit against life or property is perpetrated on a larger scale by natural agents. Nature has her Noyades more fatal than those of Carrier; her explosions of fire-damp are as destructive as human artillery; her plague and cholera far surpass the poison cups of the Borgias.<sup>6</sup>

Every line of this extract bears the impress of Mr. Mill's unhappy early education. Every line is an unwilling witness what a misery it is to be of the number of those who are "without Christ, aliens from the conversation of Israel, and strangers to the testaments, having no hope of the promise, and without God in this world." The facts which Mr. Mill sets forth so passionately are no new discoveries; they have been patent to all eyes since the beginning: the infant in the cradle

<sup>6</sup> Pp. 28—30.

begins to discern them, and the failing senses of the dying still keenly apprehend them. Yet thousands of minds have viewed them with serenity, have accepted them, have understood their import, and borne them without complaint. Those who have knelt round the death-bed of a young Christian, and have seen him resigned and cheerful, while life in her fairest promise was passing away from him, know how to attribute his equanimity to his possession of a secret concerning this world, a secret which James Mill did not tell his precocious son. A Christian child sucks in with his mother's milk the truth that this world is not his home, and that therefore he is not to expect ever to feel at home in it. John Mill's understanding, from its first opening, was vitiated with the idea that the whole duty of man lay in making himself and his kind at home on this earth. The consequence was that while the Christian finds in the catechism that he learned at his mother's knee, the key to open all the doors that confront him on his passage to eternity, Mr. Mill was perpetually running his head against walls, and stamping and foaming at the mouth, with loud cries that he could not make his way there, where Nature and Nature's God never intended that man should pass.<sup>7</sup>

To rail against Nature is indeed to blaspheme God. Accordingly Mr. Mill insisted that the Author of Nature, if there was any such Being, must be finite either in goodness or power. He writes—

Not even on the most distorted and contracted theory of good which ever was framed by religious or philosophical fanaticism, can this government of Nature be made to resemble the work of a being at once good and omnipotent.<sup>8</sup> . . . Those who have been strengthened in goodness by relying on the sympathizing support of a powerful and good Governor of the world, have, I am satisfied, never really believed that Governor to be, in the strict sense of the term, omnipotent. They have always saved His goodness at the expense of His power.<sup>9</sup>

One wishes that Mr. Mill had not been so forward to say, "I am satisfied," about the beliefs of people whom he under-

<sup>7</sup> Syllogistically—

That is a bad education which puts a man out of joint with the world in which he has to live.

But the godless education imparted by James Mill to John Mill put him out of joint with the world.

Therefore the said godless education was a bad one.

<sup>8</sup> P. 38.

<sup>9</sup> Pp. 39, 40.

stood as little as any man in England—I mean pious Christians. If a Welshman of last century, born and bred on his native hills in hereditary hatred of the Saxon name and ignorance of the Saxon tongue, had undertaken from some casual glances at Johnson's Dictionary, to deliver an opinion upon some delicate point of English grammar, the probability is that, however confidently he might have professed himself "satisfied" with that opinion, it would have failed to satisfy any one else, except such of his fellow-countrymen as were as ignorant and as hasty as he was. Mr. Mill was antitheist and antichristian by birth and education; he seems never to have seriously studied the writers of the Christian Church; he moved in a small circle of friends, many of whom were hostile to Christianity and to Theism; he was therefore hardly qualified to judge what it is that Christians believe about the power and goodness of their God.

In the first place, we believe that this world was not originally the scene of suffering that it now is; but that through sin death entered into the world, and, with death, labour and pain, and notably that pain and labour of child-birth, about which Mr. Mill is so indignant.<sup>10</sup>

We believe, however, that it would not have been repugnant to the infinite goodness and infinite power of God, to have created the world from the beginning a place of labour and pain and death, even as it is at present. Liability to these physical evils is natural to humanity. Adam's original exemption from them was a preternatural favour, which was withdrawn when he fell, and nature was left to take her course with him and with his posterity. Mr. Mill urges that this course of nature is in many respects an evil course, arguing either want of goodness in the Creator, if He made nature such as it is, being able to make it otherwise; or want of power, if He was not able to make it otherwise. The objection is so old, and the answers to it so many, that one is a little puzzled which to select. The best answer which occurs for the occasion is contained in the three following propositions.

1. God cannot possibly make a creature to be by nature capable of happiness, but incapable of misery.
2. The aforesaid impossibility is not derogatory to God's omnipotence.
3. Infinite goodness does not require that God shall always

<sup>10</sup> Gen. iii. 16.

place His creatures in such accidental circumstances as that their natural capability of misery shall never bear fruit.

1. Happiness is the fulfilment of desire, the conscious possession of good. A creature, therefore, whose nature was such that it could not be otherwise than happy, would necessarily desire that, and that only, which it had of itself, and could not lose without the loss of its own very being. Such a creature would be its own highest good. Secure in the inalienable possession of itself, it would be naturally, intrinsically, indefectibly happy. It would be a self-sufficient being, that could say to all other beings around it: I need you not, I want nothing of you. Evidently such a being could not be finite, could not be a creature. The Infinite Creator alone can be and is self-sufficient, happy by nature, and naturally incapable of being otherwise than happy.

2. The impossibility then of making a creature happy by nature is the impossibility of creating a second God. This, at least, is not derogatory to God's omnipotence, that there can be "no other Almighty God besides Him."

3. "The Lord hath wrought all things for Himself." He created them for the primary and immediate purpose that they should minister to His glory. For that end principally He preserves them in being. For that, He Himself became a creature. For that end the Church was founded. It is laudable for man, in his intentions and enterprizes, to place himself in the second place: for man is finite, and his chief good lies outside him. But Infinite Goodness contains in Itself all good. God, therefore, ever acts primarily for His own sake, that is, for the sake of His own external and accidental glory. It is a mistake to conceive Him simply as an Omnipotent Philanthropist. He is that, but that is not the essential definition of Him. Essentially He is the Self-Existent, the Actuality of all possible perfection, the Container, Origin, and End of all things, Alpha and Omega, *i. e.* As good is apt to diffuse itself, God has chosen to diffuse His goodness in creation. He loves His creatures; their being is an irradiation of His goodness, and especially He loves the noblest of His earthly creatures, man. Bethlehem and Calvary judge how dearly God has loved him. But God's love for man is worthy of God; it is spiritual and for eternity. It vastly transcends the philanthropy of the Benthamite school, a philanthropy which consists in talking loud and writing big,

as to how one would like to see all pain and sickness and poverty and servitude and sorrow cleared off from the earth, and mankind living comfortably, eating and drinking and promoting the greatest happiness of the greatest number, during the threescore years and ten that preceded their annihilation. The Creator has higher views upon man, and higher things in store for him, than has ever entered into the heart of even a saint upon earth to conceive, much less into the hearts of the cold, narrow-minded "thinkers," who used to express themselves in the *Westminster Review*. What, then, are we to think of the plagues, and colliery explosions, and shipwrecks, and famines, and fevers, and diseases and deaths in every shape, which, as Mr. Mill so graphically describes, are rife amongst men? If God loves us, and can save us from these accidents, why does He allow them to befall us? The answer is that God is not only Almighty and All-Good, but also All-Wise. He in His wisdom sees it good not to exert His power to keep man always from suffering. And if we will but think, we too shall see in some measure the goodness of this procedure. I must premise that suffering does not lie in the direct way and course of Nature, it lies off the way; and Nature getting off the line, as she is apt to do sometimes, lights upon suffering. The teeth, for instance, according to the well-known remark of Paley, are not made to ache; something has gone wrong with a tooth, something has interfered with it, when pain comes to be felt there. Suffering is not natural to man, but man is naturally liable to suffering, as his nature may get out of order. So it does often enough. God foresaw that it would, and intended that it should. This He intends for two purposes, which He has given us plainly to understand: the first purpose is to try man, and the second is to punish him.

God is not a foolish benefactor, although He is a generous one. His gifts are valuable, and He prizes them, and bestows them with consideration. Among them is the gift of rational happiness. God has been pleased, in His ordinary providence, not to bestow this precious boon at first hand. He gives some of His creatures reason, and if they use it to render Him reasonable service, He requites them with happiness such as their reason craves, that is, some sort of possession and enjoyment of Himself. During their term of service, ere their reward is reached, He thinks fit to try them. For this purpose He uses suffering. While therefore we mark how a natural disorder

"impales men, breaks them as if on the wheel, casts them to be devoured by wild beasts, burns them to death, crushes them with stones like the first Christian martyr," we must bear in mind that that suffering is not gratuitous. If it is not a punishment, it is a trial. But, says Mr. Mill, God has no right to impose such a trial. I submit that probably the Creator is the best judge of His own rights. Who dares to say that He has no right to the homage of patience paid Him by a Job on the dunghill, or a Lidwina on a sick-bed? But to maintain that a Creator, infinitely good and powerful, is bound constantly to keep His creatures out of the reach of suffering, is plainly to deny to Him the right to this homage of patience, for patience without suffering is a contradiction in terms, an impossibility even to Omnipotence. At the same time that God is free in power and in goodness to try the patient submission of His creatures, He is bound to reward their display of patience, and He does reward it most munificently. Thus suffering, when it comes as a trial, as it did to Job and St. Lidwina, and is accepted as they accepted it, bears a peculiar fruit, otherwise unobtainable, the fruit of patience, glorious to God and meritorious to man.

The second purpose of suffering is punishment. Punishment is of two sorts, preventive and expiatory. If God made use of suffering only to prevent wrong-doing, critics of the Creator's ways might contend that He ought to have devised some milder means of prevention. But punishment is, moreover, expiatory, retributive, vindictive. It has a retrospective as well as a prospective bearing. Philosophers have written much on this subject; there have been quotations from Plato, and arguments from ethics, brought to show that the one end of punishment, as of surgery, is to heal, and that anger for the harm done should no more prompt the rod than it does the scalpel. It is just this sort of philosophy, gainsaying as it does a truth which is plain to every one, that brings the science into odium and suspicion. Every one understands that, when a wrong has been done, it is right to be angry at what has been done, as well as to take precautions against its being done again; and that it is precisely in the circumstance of the righteous indignation which it excites, that a crime differs from an accident. The difference between undergoing an operation and undergoing punishment is plain to every eye. Shame, the shadow of guilt, clouds the face of the man that is punished, and resent-

ment, or at least reprobation, fires the minds of the by-standers. It is an axiomatic truth of nature, that a wrong-doer should suffer, *δράσαντα παθεῖν*. The saying, as the poet Æschylus testified in the fifth century before Christ, is "old and old and old again." If the Christian law has somewhat limited our application of the principle in practice, still the principle is not abrogated, nor ever can be. Only it belongs to God, rather than to man, to carry it out; for every wrong is done principally against Him, and He is the Lord of all, to punish or to pardon as He pleases. He therefore exacts satisfaction for sin by the infliction of pain, even in this life. So we read that "death, bloodshed, contention and the sword, oppressions, famine, and heart-breaking, and scourges, all these were created for the wicked, and on their account the deluge came."<sup>11</sup> These temporal punishments are, no doubt, partly meant as warnings for the future, but they are also expiations of the evil past and gone. God could and would have given a mere warning in a milder form than that of drowning the world. If Mr. Mill had diligently conned his Bible—a book, by-the-by, which is not mentioned among the manifold staples of his education—and had considered the modern reproductions of the Cities of the Plain, he would not have marvelled that so much sin is sometimes visited with chastisement even on the spot where it is committed. But Mr. Mill refused to discern in history the hand of a moral Governor, and like a child he got vexed over the puzzle that he could not otherwise construe.

An apology, to be exhaustive, requires to be longer than the accusation which it meets; for mud is sooner thrown than wiped off. It is impossible, therefore, here to satisfy all Mr. Mill's querulous complaints against Providence; nor is it worth while to try. He has, however, one fancy, so odd that it is worth while noticing as a curiosity before we leave him. There is a story of a young student of theology running in one morning in great glee to his professor, to tell him that he had discovered a new sin. The untheological, not to say atheistic, Mr. Mill has actually made a similar discovery. It shall be related in his own words:

The consciousness that whatever man does to improve his condition is in so much a censure and a thwarting of the spontaneous order of Nature, has in all ages caused new and unprecedented attempts at

<sup>11</sup> Ecclius. xl. 9, 10.

improvement to be generally at first under a shade of religious suspicion, as being in any case uncomplimentary, and very probably offensive, to the powerful beings (or, when polytheism gave place to monotheism, to the all-powerful Being), supposed to govern the various phenomena of the universe, and of whose will the course of nature was conceived to be the expression.

The new sin, then, consists in interfering with the course of nature. Mr. Mill might have quoted certain sayings of Socrates in evidence of its existence. But since his assertion extends to "all ages," we will not go back to Socrates, but remain in our own time. Against which of the Ten Commandments, then, is this sin? What writer of casuistry has noted and pronounced upon it? Who ever accused himself in confession of having interfered with the course of nature? It is wrong to interfere with the life and property of another; it is wrong to do oneself a grievous bodily injury; but to interfere with nature merely as such, to pluck a mushroom, catch a fish, or put up an umbrella, what victim of scruples ever felt remorse at such acts? I know there are individuals and races naturally indolent and longsuffering, who are apt to let things about them take their course; then, if they are of a religious turn, they will excuse their inaction by appealing to the dispensations of Providence. Eastern travellers relate this trait of the Turks; so they account for much of Asiatic squalor and misery. But the real cause is not belief in Providence; it is constitutional idleness; and idleness, as the proverb says, never wants an excuse.

Mr. Mill, at the end of his *Essay*, gives a summary of his conclusions. I venture a counter-statement of mine.

When it is taught that man ought to follow nature, the word *Nature* does not denote the entire system of things with the aggregate of all their properties; nor does it denote things as they would be without human intervention; it denotes the nature of the man himself, that is to say, his operative tendencies of reason, anger, and desire, which he is to harmonize together as a whole by the use of his free will, and so develop himself to his perfection as a man.

The doctrine, therefore, that man ought to follow nature, is neither unmeaning nor irrational and immoral.

The scheme of nature has for its object the glory of the Creator. This object includes, in the Creator's intention, the final happiness of man. But ere man reaches this happiness,

his fidelity to his Lord is tried by a certain measure of suffering ; and his unfaithfulness is punished with suffering, even in this world. The general tendency of nature, however, is rather towards happiness than suffering. The divine law fully approves of man's modifying the course of nature.

Mr. Mill's Essay on Nature teaches at least one truth. It is this: that as the enemies of the Church likewise conspire against the State, and as the rejectors of Faith impugn the most manifest revelations of Reason, so do those who ignore the Supernatural meet with the most grievous stumbling-blocks in the Natural World.

J. R.  
=====*Stabat Mater.*—  
TRANSLATED.  
—

STOOD the woe-worn Mother weeping,  
Near the Cross her station keeping,  
While her dying Son was pendent ;  
Her unsullied soul lamenting,  
Sinless yet for sin repenting,  
Riven by the sword resplendent.

Oh, what grief, what dire affliction,  
Drowned her life's great benediction,  
Mother of the Light Eternal !  
What amazement, terror, anguish,  
Made her spotless spirit languish,  
Seeing quenched that Light Supernal !

Where is he, the man who fearless  
Can behold Christ's Mother peerless,  
Shadowed by such dread dejection :  
Where the heart no grief prostrating,  
Christ's dear Mother contemplating,  
Mourning with divine affection ?

For the sins of others dying,  
She beheld Him, death defying,  
Tortured, rent by scourges gory ;  
Saw her Own by sweet relation  
Breathing forth in desolation  
Back to God His Soul of Glory.

*Stabat Mater.*

Wherefore, Mother, Love's pure Fountain,  
 Of thy griefs, th' o'erwhelming mountain,  
     Let me feel the weight and sadness :  
 To thy woes while tears we render,  
 Let Christ's love, O God of Splendour !  
     Make our hearts, too, burn with gladness.

Holy Mother, with sweet rigour  
 My believing heart transfigure  
     With the signs of crucifying,  
 Till the wounding it surrounding,  
 Love abounding, me confounding,  
     Fill my soul with grief undying.

While my tears with thine are creeping  
 For the Crucifixion weeping,  
     Until life for me is ending.  
 Near the Cross in 'rapt affliction  
 Let me share thy dereliction,  
     Sighs and tears together blending.

Of all virgins, Virgin glorious,  
 Veil not now thy light victorious,  
     Hear my voice with thine lamenting ;  
 Let Christ's death in mine, poor mortal,  
 Symbolled be ev'n thro' death's portal,  
     Earth His Passion still repenting.

Me with nails and spear now wounding,  
 Drench and drown in blood abounding,  
     Pouring from Christ's Heart benefic,  
 Thou, sweet Virgin, my defender,  
 Lest in flames my soul surrender  
     On the Judgment Day horrific.

Christ, when life and death betide me,  
 Grant Thy Mother then may guide me  
     To the heavenly palm victorious ;  
 While my body here shall moulder,  
 Let my soul be Thy beholder,  
     God, in Paradise all glorious !

C. K.

## *Mr. Gladstone's "Expostulation."*

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### PART THE SECOND.

HAVING in our last number endeavoured to lay down the leading principles that ought to regulate the relations of the temporal with the spiritual power, or, in other words, to assert the supremacy of the law of God in human affairs, we propose in the present article to discuss briefly some of the propositions maintained more or less directly by Mr. Gladstone in his recent pamphlet. And here we are in the first place brought face to face with Mr. Gladstone's fundamental propositions—

1. That "Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem*, a policy of violence and change in faith."
2. That she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused.
3. That no one can now become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another.
4. That she ("Rome") has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history.

Let us briefly consider each of these propositions *seriatim*, and examine the grounds on which they are maintained.

The first proposition, then, asserts the substitution of a policy of violence and change of faith for the old proud boast of *semper eadem*. Of course if this charge of change of faith can be substantiated, the mighty fabric of the Catholic Church, which has towered over the world for so many eventful centuries, topples to the ground. The proof of this change would seem to lie especially in the deadly blows, aimed at "the historic, scientific, and moderate school," of 1854, when the Immaculate Conception was defined, and of 1870, when the decrees of the Vatican Council proclaiming the Papal Infallibility were promulgated. And here let it be remarked how naturally Mr. Gladstone falls into the habit of speech that we are so well accustomed to in Protestant

controversy, according to which designations like historic, scientific, and moderate are always assigned to those who uphold the negative side where Catholic truth is concerned. It is true that if the definitions in question really involved a change of faith, such qualifications would be entirely justified. But that is just the question at issue. If these definitions did not involve such change, but were on the contrary the explicit expression of the Church's doctrine on the points of the Immaculate Conception and the Infallibility of the Successor of St. Peter, at least implicitly held from the beginning, then the tables will be turned, and the valid title terms scientific and historic will rest with those who maintained the positive view on these questions, and not with the upholders of the negative. As regards the term moderate, we believe it is a designation that has never been cheerfully conceded to the champions of truth by the fautors of error, even since the world began. But this is precisely what Catholics assert with respect to the definitions in question—that they are the authoritative expressions of that which from the beginning has been held concerning the respective doctrines involved, *semper, ubique et ab omnibus*, so far as these words can have any real sense in a world constituted like our own.

Take the case of the Immaculate Conception. Certainly it is true to say of that doctrine that it comes down to us from the unchangeable East, as may be easily seen by any one who will take the trouble to examine the documents connected with the question, as they appear in the collections of Passaglia, Ballerini, and others. Nay, even testimony to this fact is not wanting on the part of those external to the Church. The Koran can assert, according to its commentators, that every one that comes into the world, is touched at his birth by the devil, and therefore cries out, Mary and her Son only excepted.<sup>1</sup>

Then as to Papal Infallibility; the assertion that it is a new doctrine is certainly not reconcileable with history. From the very beginnings of the Church the Pope stands out as the central figure. "Like to all living things, like to the Church itself, of which it is the crown and the corner-stone, the Papacy has passed through an historical development full of the most manifold and surprising vicissitudes. But in this its history is the law which lies at the foundation of the Church—the law

<sup>1</sup> Sale's *Koran*, cap. 116; Surat, *The Family of Imran*.

of continual development—of a growth from within outwards. The Papacy had to pass through all the changes and circumstances of the Church, and to enter into every process of construction. Its birth begins with two mighty, significant, and far-extending words of the Lord. He to whom these words were addressed, realized them in his own person and actions, and planted the institution of the infant Church in the central point—at Rome. There it silently grew, *occulto velut arbor ævo*; and in the oldest time it only showed itself forth on peculiar occasions; but the outlines of the power and the ecclesiastical authority of the Roman Bishops were ever constantly becoming more evident and more prominent. The Popes were, even in the times of the Roman Emperors, the guardians of the whole Church, exhorting and warning in all directions, disposing and judging, 'binding and loosing.' Complaints were not seldom expressed of the use which, in particular cases, Rome had made of its power. Resistance was offered, because the Pope was supposed to have been deceived; an appeal was preferred to him, when it was believed that he had been better informed; but there was no refusal to obey his commands.<sup>2</sup>

These words, it is needless to say, set forth an undeniable historical fact. Gradually as the great Roman organization fell into the throes of dissolution partly from the effects of its own internal morbid condition, and partly from the blows which came upon it from without, one grand form emerged from the prevailing confusion, and stood out in clear majestic outline, and finally took its place in substantial reality as the central figure of the world. To that figure the eyes of all were turned, whether of perplexed princes or of distressed populations, in those days of dread and darkness; till at length, as has been well said, the world threw itself into the arms of the reluctant Successors of the Fisherman of Galilee, who found themselves perforce constrained to accept the heavy burden that was thrust upon them. And to what cause can we assign this gravitation of the world towards the central See of the Church? To what but this, that the world was practically taught to recognize in the occupant of that See the living expression and exponent of the principles of truth and of justice, for which mankind had been so long pining, and for the want of which the old

<sup>2</sup> Döllinger, *The Church and the Churches*, M'Cabe's translation, p. 42. Cf. Klee, *Hist. des Dogmes Chrétians*, t. i. p. 124. Paris, 1848.

civilizations were sinking into hopeless decay. It was the law of God that the Pope symbolized; to publish and uphold that law was the very reason of his being; what wonder then that his supremacy was as it were instinctively acknowledged!

And as the Supremacy of the Popes thus gradually made itself felt, in virtue of the divine foundation on which it rested, so in like manner did their Infallibility in the sphere of truth come to be recognized as a first principle, just as the Infallibility of that Church was recognized, of which the Popes were the official and ever living, active organs. Both the one and the other, as a twofold manifestation of the same truth, was deeply fixed in the consciousness of the Church; so deeply as to be, as is the nature of first principles, beyond discussion, and beyond the need of explicit definition. It is true that discussion at length arose, as a consequence of the miseries of the Great Schism, but there was never any doubt as to the result of the controversy. The truth of the matter manifested itself so clearly, that Bellarmine could say that the opinion of the Pope's Infallibility when speaking *ex cathedra* on subjects within the sphere of faith and morals was the *sententia communissima et certissima* of Catholic theologians.

Protestants of course became at once the strongest opponents of the doctrine; for without that cardinal negation they would have been even less than their great system of negation made them. They instinctively felt that the great bulwark of all authority, the Infallibility of the Successor of St. Peter, must be the first and main point of attack in their great revolt against authority; that principle once overthrown, all authority must share in its downfall.

The Gallicans partially took up the same line; moved thereto, partly by the exigencies of the Jansenist controversy, and partly by their subservience to the despotism of Louis the Fourteenth, thus showing themselves but too ready to accept that phase of Protestantism which gave such a powerful impetus to the territorial principle, and lent such weight to absolutism in national governments.

And yet, notwithstanding this recalcitrance against the mind of the Church with reference to this doctrine, a doctrine be it remembered always lying at the root of her practical action, Mr. Gladstone feels bound to characterize the explicit settlement of the controversy by the Vatican Decrees as having

been brought about by a policy of violence and change. In this it is said to differ from similar decisions. "The justification of the ancient definitions of the Church, which have endured the storms of fifteen hundred years, was to be found in this, that they were not arbitrary or wilful, but that they wholly sprang from, and related to theories rampant at the time, and regarded as menacing to Christian belief."<sup>8</sup>

Are there, then, no theories at the present time that are menacing to Christian belief, that the Church is bound to check, and against which the Vatican Decrees might be supposed to throw up an effective barrier? Even to take the most general view of the question, it may be said, that the radical principle of the great movement against the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century was revolt against authority, partially and fitfully carried out it is true in detail in the commencements of that movement, but still none the less the principle that lay at the root of all its ramifications. The very effect of the operation of such a principle, tending of necessity to sap her foundations, and in virtue of such tendency, must be to throw the Church back upon her great distinctive characteristic. If she speaks not with an authority that cannot be gainsaid, she is nothing. She sinks below the lowest of the sects; because, unlike them, she pretends to that which on this hypothesis she possesses not. She is an impostor, not the Bride of Christ. What wonder, then, if in the face of the general prevailing tendency of the last three centuries, without regard to other considerations, the Church should have felt bound at any time during that long period to reassert her first principles, and to give all precision and definiteness to that special principle, without which no organized association is possible, and upon which her own existence in so emphatic a manner depends. We mean of course the principle of authority as residing in herself, and specially issuing into practical effect in the official acts of her Head, the Successor of Peter and the Vicar of Christ.

But there are other considerations, and those of the gravest, that may well, under the providence of God, have determined the action of the Church in proclaiming this her foundation principle to the world with the full weight and significance that attach to the decrees of the Vatican Council. The world is only now beginning to realize the results of the great

<sup>8</sup> P. 14.

Reformation principle, as manifested by the effects which have sprung from its penetration into all the strata and functions of social life. What European country can at the present moment be pointed to as an example of the harmonious union of firmly seated and reverently recognized authority, with the free exercise and full play of the liberties of social life. In more than one country the utter absence of both one and the other of these elements is marked by what hardly falls short of social dissolution ; while in others the dead weight of a gross plutocracy, or the grinding tread of armed millions threatens to crush out all true national life. Even in our own country it can hardly be said that the political and social atmosphere is free from the prognostics and mutterings of coming storms. As to the effects of the working of the same principle in the sphere of what is called religious life, these are abundantly and sufficiently displayed in the rapid unsettlement and disintegration of religious belief that threatens to spread desolation throughout the length and breadth of the land. Was there, then, it may well be asked, no call upon the Church to step forth and do her office at such a crisis, to raise her voice and proclaim anew that principle which men would seem to be so fast forgetting, which lies at the root of all family life and healthy social existence ; that principle of authority which rests upon the eternal law of God, and which is the only guarantee of the true liberties of men and of nations ? The very clamour that has been raised against the Vatican Decrees in a time of ignorance, lawlessness, and decay, is of itself a sufficient justification of the Church's acts, a proof of their supreme necessity.

With respect to the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, it is true that no such urgent necessity for its definition can be alleged. But it must be borne in mind that this is a matter that belongs rather to the province of devotion, than of doctrines that affect primarily the great verities of the Christian Revelation ; and that the definition in question was called for more by the fervent and united aspirations of the Catholic world, than necessitated by the strain of controversial warfare. No declaration of faith was ever more universally, more joyfully accepted by the Church's children, and the ground of such acceptance was the tribute of love and honour paid to her who bore within her Christ the Lord, and in and through her the love and honour paid to Him. We question whether a dissenting

voice would have been heard save for the connection of the definition with the question of Papal Infallibility.

Not that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, when rightly understood, is without its important bearing on other articles of the Christian Faith. The Catholic devotion to the Blessed Virgin has been one great object of attack on the part of these outside for the last three hundred years; the ordinary effect on the minds of objectors has been to weaken their hold upon the central doctrine of the Incarnation. The Immaculate Conception, on the other hand, indirectly affirms, and is a great bulwark of that doctrine.

Again, the world has been cursed for the last century pretty well with dreams of the natural perfection, and indefinite perfectibility in the natural order, of human nature. The Immaculate Conception, by affirming the preservation of Mary, in virtue of the merits of her Son, from all stain of sin, affirms by the very exception made in her favour alone, the universality of the weakness and deterioration of human nature, of which there are such ample proofs in the history of the world, and in the testimony of our own consciousness, and which is designated in theological language by the term of Original Sin.

We cannot pause to do more than notice Mr. Gladstone's apprehensions on the score of the doctrine of development. He endeavours to present a contrast between some system that upholds continuous uniformity of doctrine, with another system that claims "a living authority ever ready to open, adopt, and shape Christian doctrine according to the times." Mr. Gladstone then proceeds to add, "In the first, the office claimed by the Church is principally that of a witness to facts; in the second, principally that of a judge, if not a revealer of doctrine. In the first, the processes which the Church undertakes are subject to a constant challenge and appeal to history; in the second, no amount of historical testimony can avail against the unmeasured power of the theory of development."<sup>4</sup> We will not stop to consider the abstract possibility of any system that might maintain continuous uniformity of doctrine without a living authority to act as its guardian and judge; in any social condition, we mean, where the human intellect is alive and active. Petrifications there may be, as in the case of the modern Greek Church; though it did not attain to its actual structure of doctrine without the aid of that very living

\* P. 13.

authority which it now rejects ; and how long it would retain its present aspect, were any intellectual life to stir again amongst the dry bones, without the aid of that same authority, is a problem that we need not here discuss. For we have a sufficient and living example before us of what its fate would be, in the existing state of Protestant communities everywhere ; most notably in that community which professes to be guided by some weak aspirations to realize Mr. Gladstone's ideal system, but how woeful the failure has been it requires no words of ours to prove.

We might except to Mr. Gladstone's statement of the doctrine of development in the passage we have been considering ; but it will be sufficient to point out that the antagonism between historical evidence and a defining power to meet the exigencies of times and seasons, which Mr. Gladstone imagines, can have no place in any real theory of development. The tests for instance of a true development given by Dr. Newman are amply sufficient to secure historical continuity ; and Mr. Gladstone might be challenged to point out any definition of the Church which does not rest upon a solid historical basis as far as its essential character is concerned. We have briefly sketched out the ground of proof that no such assertion can be sustained with reference to the Infallibility of the Pope, and the Immaculate Conception ; and it will be no easy matter to adduce any other doctrine of the Church that does not rest on at least an equal foundation of historical evidence.

But we must pass on to Mr. Gladstone's second proposition : "That she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool that she was fondly thought to have disused." So it seems after all that the Church is *semper eadem* ; in this point at any rate, that she has never acted on any principle that she cares to disown. Principles may vary as to methods of application ; may under the never-ceasing fluctuations of human things and the plastic power of circumstance become practically inoperative ; but if they be indeed principles they can never change, can never be disowned. If then by this proposition Mr. Gladstone means that the Church has merely reasserted her great fundamental principles, even though he should call them rusty tools, he does but produce one of her most powerful claims on the acceptance of the world. If on the other hand his meaning is, that the Church wishes to make the application of her principles in past times the measure of their application

now; to suggest that their practical adaptation to the requirements of the early Christian and mediæval periods could by any possible manipulation be brought into harmony with a time so entirely different in all external form and manifestation as our own; why then all we can say is, that his proposition, besides betraying an utter forgetfulness of the history and the characteristics of the Church's life, would involve simply a moral and physical impossibility. What she does aspire after is, to recall men to the first principles of the law of God, and to help them to remould themselves and their social life upon those principles, not to cast them into patterns ready made to order. She leaves that process to philosophers and modern men of science, and constitution-mongers, and bureaucrats and Liberal doctrinaires.

We have already considered in our last number some of the proofs alleged by Mr. Gladstone from the Syllabus in support of his second proposition. We will revert to this portion of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet for the purpose of enlarging a little upon one proposition of the Syllabus, the twenty-fourth, which gives him special uneasiness, and in fact furnishes him more or less with the theme of the whole discussion. The proposition in question runs thus: "The Church has no power of employing force, nor has she any temporal power either direct or indirect." This is condemned by the Holy See; and the condemnation leads to the following reflections on the part of Mr. Gladstone: "It may appear, upon a hasty perusal, that neither the infliction of penalty in life, limb, liberty, or goods, on disobedient members of the Christian Church, nor the title to depose sovereigns, and release subjects from their allegiance, with all its revolting consequences, has been here reaffirmed. In terms, there is no mention of them; but in the substance of the propositions, I grieve to say, they are beyond doubt included. For it is notorious that they have been declared and decreed by 'Rome,' that is to say, by Popes and Papal Councils; and the stringent condemnations of the Syllabus include all those who hold that Popes and Papal Councils (declared Ecumenical) have transgressed the first limits of their power, or usurped the rights of princes. What have been their opinions and decrees about persecution I need hardly say; and indeed the right to employ physical force is even here undisguisedly claimed."

In order to enable our readers clearly to appreciate the

questions here involved, we must refer them to the conclusions arrived at in our last number in respect of the relations between the temporal and spiritual powers. Briefly those conclusions amounted to this; that the two orders, spiritual and temporal, are both ordained by God; that they differ as to their ends. The temporal order has for its primary end the prosperity and well-being of the body and the public peace, and therefore is immediately conversant with those objects whose proper and immediate end is temporal, such as earthly goods and possessions, and the relations that such things involve. The spiritual order, on the other hand, has for its primary end the salvation of the soul and the good of religion, and is therefore immediately conversant with such objects as have an immediate spiritual end, the laws, for instance, natural and divine, the divine oracles, sacraments, ritual and ceremonial prescriptions, and other things of a like kind.

But, inasmuch as temporal things are not restricted in their use to the interests of this life only, but may have a further issue touching the salvation of souls, in this respect they are brought into relation with the spiritual authority, and the question arises whether the spiritual authority can claim any jurisdiction over temporal things thus brought into connection with, and having a bearing upon, spiritual interests. Before answering this question we must premise that power may be direct or indirect. The temporal power is direct when exercised in those things which concern its proper temporal end, and regarded simply with a view to that end. The spiritual power in like manner is direct in those things which in themselves only concern its proper spiritual end, and regarded simply with a view to that end.

Now, we have already asserted the sovereignty of each power in its own proper sphere; but we have also asserted the supremacy of the spiritual order over the temporal order, for reasons sufficiently stated in our last number, and which we need not now repeat, in those matters that in themselves belong strictly to the temporal order, but come also to have an influence on the spiritual order because of their bearing upon man's final end. The question then is, what is the precise nature of the power that the spiritual order claims over matters that thus lie in what may be called the debateable land between the temporal and spiritual spheres? The reply to this question that we have already given, and that we now repeat, is that

such power is indirect. And in giving this answer we contend that we are but following the guidance and pronouncements of that Church, as set forth in her Conciliar and Pontifical Acts and in the deliverances of her most approved theologians and canonists, of that Church which in this, as in all substantial matters, *semper eadem*. We will select a few examples to show that the Church has spoken with one voice in this matter from the beginning. Hosius, so prominent a figure in Nicene times, thus addresses the Emperor Constantine : "Cease, I pray you, and remember that you are mortal, dread the Day of Judgment, and keep yourself unspotted against that day; do not mix yourself up with ecclesiastical affairs, nor issue your commands in matters of that kind, but rather learn of us. God has committed to you the empire ; to us He has intrusted His Church ; and as those who conspire against your rule go against the ordinance of God, so do you take heed, lest by meddling with things that belong to the Church, you fall into a great crime : 'Give,' it is written, 'to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.' For, neither is it lawful for us to hold the empire on earth, nor for you, the Emperor, to exercise power in regard to incense and sacrifice. . . . Cease, then, and listen to me, O Constantius ; for this it becomes me to write, and you not to despise."<sup>5</sup> Words can hardly express more clearly than these the distinction between the spiritual and the temporal orders, the supremacy of each in its own sphere, and yet the dependence of the temporal upon the spiritual in things that concern the spiritual order.

Liberius speaks in the same sense. "The ecclesiastical canon is not of that nature, nor have we ever received such tradition from the Fathers, who themselves have received their teaching from the great and blessed Apostle Peter. But if the Emperor really seeks the peace of the Church ; or if he orders our writings on behalf of Athanasius to be destroyed, let those that have been written against him be destroyed likewise, and then let an ecclesiastical synod be assembled at a distance from the palace, where neither the Emperor will be at hand, nor any count thrust himself in, nor any judge utter his menaces, and where the fear of God alone, and the Apostolic institutions will be enough."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cf. S. Athanas. *Epist. ad Solitarios.* Apud Roskovany.

<sup>6</sup> Athanas. *Opera.* Edit. Colon. 1616, i. p. 832.

In like manner St. Gregory Nazianzen can say to the chiefs of the State, "For you also the law of Christ makes amenable to my empire, to my tribunal. For I also wield an empire; I add, even a more excellent and a more perfect empire; for otherwise the spirit must give place to the flesh, and heavenly to earthly things. Thou art a sheep of my flock, sacred to the Great Shepherd." And St. Basil declares, that "the Christian, though subject in all other things, knows no obedience with respect to that which is opposed to the divine law."<sup>7</sup>

So, again, Pope Gelasius says, that "as the Christian Emperors have much need of the Pontiffs in the things that concern eternal life, so the Pontiffs observe the Imperial regulations in matters of this life."<sup>8</sup> And in another place he writes to the Emperor Anastasius, "So as regards that which pertains to the order of public discipline, the prelates, knowing that the Empire has been committed to thee by the divine ordination, themselves obey thy laws, that they may not even in human things seem to go against what has been determined; with what readiness, let me ask, ought you to obey those who have been intrusted with the dispensation of the divine mysteries?"<sup>9</sup>

Pope Nicholas the First writes in the same sense: "The law of the Emperors is not above the law of God, but subject to it. Ecclesiastical rights cannot be voided by the Imperial judgment;" and he quotes Popes Innocent and Gregory in support of his assertion. And it is remarkable that his citation from the latter has reference to that special matter which is one great bone of contention between the civil and spiritual authorities at the present day. "If," he says, "it should be asserted that, on the ground of religion, marriages may be dissolved, let it be known, that although human law has allowed this, divine law none the less prohibits it."<sup>10</sup> Again, writing to the Emperor Michael, Pope Nicholas says, contrasting the state of things in Christian times with that which had preceded them: "But when the truth came, neither did the Emperor go beyond his own sphere to arrogate to himself the rights of the Pontiff, nor the Pontiff make use of the Imperial name, since the same Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus, so discriminated the offices of the two powers by assigning to each its proper acts and special dignities, willing that what

<sup>7</sup> Roskovany, *Monumenta Catholica*, t. i. p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Roskovany, *Monumenta Catholica*, t. i. p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Lib. de Anath.

<sup>10</sup> Dist. x. c. I.

belonged to Him should be raised aloft by the medicine of humility, and not again be plunged into hell by human pride, that both the Christian Emperors should have need of the Pontiffs for life eternal, and the Pontiffs should make use of the Imperial laws only in the sphere of temporal things, in order that spiritual action might be removed from carnal perturbations, and therefore the soldier of God should by no means mix himself up with secular affairs, as on the other hand, that he who is involved in worldly business should not seem to exercise authority in divine things.”<sup>11</sup>

We have thought it well to adduce these few testimonies of the earlier Popes and Fathers, to show the view taken from the earliest times of the relations between the civil and spiritual powers. It is hardly necessary to point out how entirely they are in agreement with the doctrine of Innocent the Third and Boniface the Eighth. Passages to the same effect might be alleged indefinitely, but those we have given are sufficient to show the way of looking at this great question that has always prevailed in the Church. Let us add one or two more, that show how the early Christian Emperors viewed the matter.

“The Emperor Constantine thus writes—‘God hath appointed you priests, and given you power to judge us also, and therefore we are rightly judged by you. But you cannot be judged by men.’ Valentinian the First on the occasion of St. Ambrose’s election to the See of Milan, speaks as follows—‘Wherefore place a man so instructed in the Episcopal Chair, that we also, by whom this Empire is governed, may bow our heads to him in truth and sincerity of heart, and since we are men and liable to error, may willingly receive his correction as the medicine of our souls.’ Again, Theodosius the Second and Valentinian the Third thus address the Synod of Ephesus—‘Seeing that the special care of all things that concern the common weal devolves upon us, but especially of those that pertain to piety; for by means of these all other goods are added to men, we write,’ &c. The Emperors then proceed to enumerate the measures they have taken to insure the success of the Synod, and the instructions given to Claudidian, the bearer of their letters, to the effect that he must not mix himself up with questions and controversies, for the decision of which he has no com-

<sup>11</sup> *Dist. xcvi. c. 5, 6, 7.*

petency, but confine himself to the arrangements requisite to the security and good order of the Council. In like manner the Emperor Marcian protests in the Synod of Chalcedon 'that he is not present to exercise power, but to confirm the Faith, and that it is his desire that all the people should be of one mind by adhering to true and holy doctrine, return to the one religion, and follow the Catholic Faith.' And, not to proceed further, Justinian gives us the key-note of the legislation of the Empire in Christian times, when he says—'If we take heed that the civil laws, the power of which God has intrusted to us, should be firmly kept by all, how much more diligence ought we to exercise in order to the observance of the divine laws and sacred canons.'<sup>12</sup>

The above passages amply show how entirely and freely the principle for which we are contending was acknowledged by the early Christian Emperors. While maintaining their own place and sovereignty in the civil sphere, they are careful and loyal in their acknowledgment of the functions of the spiritual sphere, of the independence of the spiritual power in its own province, and of its right of instruction and correction even over themselves. They are men and prone to error; even as Emperors they may fail to observe or appreciate the full bearings of the law of God; they therefore submit themselves not only as men in regard to their private conduct, but as Emperors in respect of national acts to the counsel and discipline of those to whom the guardianship of the law, natural and divine, has been committed. The spiritual order has no direct power over temporal arrangements, over the multiform functions of national life; such are at the free and untrammelled disposition of the Government of the State, whatever its form may be. But if State regulations impinge upon the law of God, then the spiritual power has the right to raise its voice, nay has the right to exercise a constraining pressure not on individual men only, but on princes and nations, that they may be recalled to the observance of the Ten Commandments. But such power is plainly indirect; it falls, it is true, on objects that belong to the temporal sphere, but not as so falling, but because of their accidentally being brought into contact with the spiritual sphere by collision with its first principles as contained in the law of God. And as long as God is God, and man is man; as long as there exists a spiritual order for the manifestation of

<sup>12</sup> Roskovany, *Mon. Cath.* pp. 21, 23, 26, 27, 28.

the divine ordinations with reference to man's duties and man's eternal destinies; so long must this relation between the temporal and spiritual spheres be upheld. For the individual man to revolt against this law of the divine dispensations, to deny even practically, much more theoretically, that spiritual things are above temporal in all estimation, that eternity is above time, is to live without God in the world. For a nation in its national life and action to deny the precedence of the spiritual power in things that concern man's eternal interests, is practically to assert its independence of the law of God, and to lapse into political atheism. It was on the full recognition of the principle of the indirect action of the spiritual on the temporal power that all national legislation was based from the times of the early Christian Emperors down to the period of the Reformation, and that the majestic structure of the canon law was built up as the natural and legitimate embodiment of that principle itself. Bellarmine, expressing at once the relation between the two orders, civil and spiritual, and asserting their independence, each in its own sphere, thus sums up the above results: "When opposing laws are found to exist with reference to the same thing, if the subject-matter of the law involves the peril of souls, then the imperial law is abrogated by the pontifical. . . . But when the matter of the law is some temporal thing, not involving danger to souls, the *pontifical law cannot abrogate the imperial law*, but each is to be observed, one in the ecclesiastical, the other in the civil forum."

From what has been said, we are now brought to the more special consideration of that part of the twenty-fourth proposition which troubles Mr. Gladstone so exceedingly. We mean the words, "The Church has no power of employing force," a proposition that has been condemned by the Holy See. But before proceeding to this it will not be out of place briefly to advert to an attempt, that has received the warm applause of the Press, to fasten on the Church the doctrine of the direct power of the Popes in temporal matters on the ground that such is the manifest teaching of Boniface the Eighth in the Bull *Unam Sanctam*.<sup>13</sup> The paper advocating this view is contained in the December number of *Macmillan's Magazine*. The author of this article, with the marvellous confusion of mind which writers of this class betray whenever they approach subjects connected with the Church, or indeed anything bearing upon real and solid

<sup>13</sup> *De Rom. Pontif. lib. v. c. 46.*

principles, endeavours to prove his point from the Bull *Unam Sanctam* itself. "The direct jurisdiction of the Pope over the temporal prince is the cardinal doctrine of the mediaeval Papacy. It breathes out of every sentence of the *Unam Sanctam*, and its full meaning is made clear by the history of the events to which the *Unam Sanctam* owes its origin." Now no such doctrine as the direct jurisdiction of the Pope over temporal matters breathes out of the *Unam Sanctam*. The key-note of the Bull is given in the words, to make use of the writer's translation, "For in very truth it is the function of the spiritual power to direct (*instruere*) the temporal, and to judge it, if it be not good." That is, the Papal power only intervenes, *ratione peccati*; has no force over temporal matters, unless they indirectly fall under its jurisdiction by contravention of the principles of the spiritual order which it upholds. That such was Boniface's view, as we have already seen, appears from his declaration in a consistory held in August, 1302, in justification of his Bull, *Ausculta Fili*. It was not his intention, he said, to deny the distinction between the two powers that had been instituted by God, or to assume to himself the jurisdiction which belonged to the king, but that the king, like any other Christian, was subject to him in regard to sin, a principle that had been enunciated one hundred years before by Innocent the Fourth. Then as to the events to which the *Unam Sanctam* owes its origin, it is sufficient to refer to the history of the period, in Döllinger's *Church History* for instance, to see how much the question of sin was involved. The motive of the Pope's action in the whole business was furnished by the abuses and the oppression which the nobility, the clergy, and the people were doomed to endure at the hands of Philip; and we trust that we have not yet advanced quite so far in the forgetfulness of all principles of justice as to maintain that misgovernment on the part of princes and rulers is not sinful. We have, then, sufficient guidance for the interpretation of the great *ex cathedrâ* pronouncement contained in the Bull *Unam Sanctam*. We say the great *ex cathedrâ* pronouncement, for there is another such declaration, though only an incidental one, contained in the words, "Unless he maintain, like the Manichæans, that there be two principles, which is false and heretical." But the direct *ex cathedra* definition is as follows: "Therefore we declare, say, and define and pronounce that every human creature is subject to the Roman Pontiff as a necessary condition of salvation." The rest of the

Bull, though entitled to all respect, on the acknowledged principles of interpretation of such documents, is not matter of faith. The sense, therefore, of this *ex cathedrâ* decision of Boniface the Eighth is simply this, that as out of the Church there is no salvation, so of necessity it is a condition of salvation that every human creature should be subject as a member of that Church to the Roman Pontiff who is its head ; subject in those matters over which the Roman Pontiff has jurisdiction—that is, in matters connected with the truth and with the law of God. But even princes and governments are bound by the law of God, and therefore in respect of that law the Pontiff has jurisdiction over them. But in civil regulations, so long as they keep within God's law, he claims no jurisdiction. Thus the orderly relations between the two powers are preserved, and the unity of the Church, that body with many members, kept in its full integrity. It is simply idle and unscholarlike to force a meaning out of *subesse*, "to be under," *star sotto, verstehen*, that shall involve the Pope's domination over the whole world as a temporal sovereign. But the attempt to impose the interpretation that this writer upholds upon the *Unam Sanctam*, in the face of Papal declarations, and of the consensus of theologians and canonists in favour of the received construction put upon its contents, is worse than idle. It is unbusiness-like and foolish. What would the Judges in Westminster Hall say to this writer, if in his wisdom he went down to assure them that their unanimous construction of an Act of Parliament, sustained though it might be by numberless decisions in the same sense, was simply a gross mistake, for that he had discovered quite a new way of reading the Act, and that the true meaning of one little word, that had escaped their notice, and never before been assigned to such word, quite altered its whole complexion. We can imagine how the Lord Chief Justice would receive such a gratuitous offer of illumination. It would be well for brilliant writers in popular magazines to bear in mind that Catholic theologians and lawyers have certain fixed principles for the interpretation of the laws of the Church, pontifical or otherwise, and that they are responsible before God, and to the authorities of the Church for their interpretations of legal documents ; and then ask themselves which class of persons is likeliest to arrive at the true construction of ecclesiastical laws, those who make them the object of professed study, or those who merely approach them in *dilettante*

fashion, too often we fear without any sense of responsibility at all.

We have said that the construction put upon the Bull *Unam Sanctam* goes against Pontifical declarations to the contrary, and we conceive that we are borne out in this statement by the Bull *Meruit* of Clement the Fifth, in which the Pope does not withdraw the *Unam Sanctam*, but in order to remove the misapprehensions of Philip he declares that the *Unam Sanctam* is not to be supposed to create any prejudice to the rights of the king, nor to subject the king and his kingdom more to the Roman Church than before, but that the relations between the two powers remained precisely the same as they were previously to the issuing of the *Unam Sanctam*. But certainly the indirect power of Popes over temporal matters had been asserted and exercised before the *Unam Sanctam*, therefore the *Unam Sanctam* claimed nothing beyond such power, therefore not the direct power over temporal things. The truth is this writer does not understand the distinction between the *direct* and *indirect power*, as is evident from his confused attempt at illustration, when he presents an imaginary case of what might be supposed to have been the Pope's action, if he had been in a position to exercise his power, in dealing with the commencement of the French and Prussian war. He deals with that terrible and ultimate weapon in the hands of justice with the flippancy that distinguishes modern writers when touching on any grave and momentous subject, and seems quite ignorant that what the Pope would first of all have to consider, if such a question were ever submitted to his decision, would be, not the validity of petty collateral motives, nor the possibilities of favourable results, but whether lawful cause for unsheathing the sword existed, such cause as would afford ground for a judicial sentence that war would under the given circumstances be in accordance with the law of God.

But let us now return to Mr. Gladstone and his scruples about the employment of force. Now what is meant by the employment of force, considered in its bearing upon the question brought under discussion by the twenty-fourth proposition of the Syllabus? We presume something like this; that force is a legitimate element, and its application an ultimate principle in the constitution of all societies: ultimate and essential too in point of fact. For it is the employment of force in the last resort in some shape or other, that gives sanction to the laws

and regulations of any community whatsoever, and enforces their binding obligation. The force so employed may be moral force, or it may be physical ; and the lawfulness of falling back upon physical force, for the purposes assigned, all other means failing, is an acknowledged principle of all jurisprudence, human or divine. Clearly then, if the Church were to fall back upon this primary principle of all social life in order to give sanction to her laws, she would be violating no obligation of truth or justice ; she would only be using a weapon that even natural law has put into her hands. And in truth she has ever recognized this principle and has acted upon it, both in one shape and in the other ; though with respect to physical force, deeply conscious as she has ever been that her strength lies in mercy and not in severity, she has ever shrunk from its application by her own hands, but has called to her aid, when she has deemed that penal infliction in that kind could no longer be safely withheld, the ministry of that temporal power which is God's ordinance, and which bears not the sword in vain. And this relative attitude of the spiritual and civil powers with reference to the employment of physical force was a fundamental principle of the public law of the early Christian and mediæval times. To the censures of the Church physical penalties were gradually attached, some indeed of extreme severity, by all the national governments of Christendom. These penalties, like the censures of which they came to be regarded as the legal consequences, were inflicted for crimes varying in kind and degree according to the greater or less gravity of the violation of law that they involved. Heresy was the crime that entailed the heaviest of those consequences, both because in itself it was regarded as the crime most prejudicial to man's highest interests, and because in course of time the term became one of wider designation, so as to comprise opinions, for the most part allied to abnormal religious views, that threatened the peace and temporal prosperity of the State. Nor was there any Christian, from the Emperor to the peasant, exempt from the action of the public law of the time in this matter. By that law the excommunicated heretic forfeited his social and civil rights and position, unless he made his submission within one year of the issuing of the sentence against him, or within forty days, as the law stood in England. As regards sovereigns, the same stern law held, and on the expiration of the period of grace assigned by the law, the excommunicated prince, who proved

contumacious, fell from his place, and lost his claim on the allegiance of his subjects. He was held to be one who could only be regarded as an unworthy and tyrannical ruler, and as such deprived of the office whose duties he had neglected, by the public law of Christendom.

We repeat that such was the law of Christendom, as may be seen by consulting Gosselin's work on the *Power of the Popes*, or Jager's translation of Voight's Introduction to the *Life of Gregory the Seventh*. And with this law, the laws of Edward the Confessor, subsequently confirmed by William the Conqueror, are in perfect accord. "For the king, who is the Vicar of the Most High King, is constituted in order to this, that he may rule and defend his earthly kingdom and the people of the Lord from harm, and above all that he may show reverence to the Holy Church, and pluck up and destroy evil-doers from her midst, and entirely root them out. Which if he fail to do, the name of king will no longer be his, but, as Pope John testifies, he forfeits the name of king."<sup>14</sup> And in Germany the same law held good, as even Henry the Fourth and Frederick the Second acknowledged. They acknowledged the existence and binding force of the law that inflicted the penalty of deposition upon them in consequence of their excommunication; they only contested, in their struggle with the Holy See, the justice of its application to themselves.

Now, we will not deny that there were abuses in the exercise of these laws; that extreme, and in some cases unjustifiable severity on the part of the instruments of their execution was but too manifest. Still we must judge of such instances according to the spirit of their times, and not straightway draw the conclusion that because they could happen then, they therefore can be repeated in a state of society so widely different as our own. This is a matter the discussion of which we must defer to some future occasion. But this much may be said, that if those times have set forth a bad example in point of severity and persecution, subsequent times have not been slow to follow such example. If the days of bloody Mary were hard and ruthless, it can hardly be said that the days of her successor can be advantageously contrasted with them. If the spirit of mediæval days was a stern one, it cannot be said that the spirit that breathed in the civil and ecclesiastical laws of Protestant England and Scotland was of a gentler kind, or that the modes

<sup>14</sup> Hardoun, t. vi. p. 988; Labb. Concil. t. ix. p. 1023.

of enforcing those laws in later days gain much by comparison with the modes of the former time. Nor can it be gainsaid that the actors in past centuries who are held up to scorn and reprobation have failed to find successful imitators in the manifestation of the persecuting spirit even in modern days. Men are to be found now, who, not content with carrying out the laws as they find them, busy themselves, in contradiction of the fundamental principles of toleration which have hitherto been claimed as the vaunted inheritance of Protestantism, with forging new chains for their fellow-men in the shape of persecuting laws, and shrink not from carrying them into execution with brutal severity. We hear much of Alva, but if events in Germany march on in their present course, Alva's reputation will pale before that of the rude and ruffianly dragoon, who in the mysterious dispensations of Providence, is permitted to trample upon the world, and whose feet it delights members of the English Press, and not them alone, obsequiously to lick.

This enables us sufficiently to see the bearing of the question of the Pope's deposing power. This was never claimed as a direct power; deposition only followed by the definition of the public law upon the exercise of the Pope's undoubted right to visit sinful and tyrannical kings with ecclesiastical censures. The measure of civil penalty consequent upon the exertion of such right was from the nature of things matter of arrangement with the civil power. The Pope might declare deposition or other penalty to have been incurred; execution would not be effected without the concurrent action of governments and nations. But it was acknowledged as a maxim by all in those old Christian times, that the man who ruled unworthily was unworthy also of his place, and the public action of the constituted authorities of nations was brought to bear upon his deposition. And especially it was the conviction of all that the man who was false to the faith and law of God was unfit to govern a people; and if such an one were sufficiently declared false by the public action of the Church, then his claim to the allegiance of his subjects fell to the ground. And in saying this we are but giving utterance to the opinion of the most approved theologians. Thus Bellarmine declares that "the Pope cannot, as Pope, ordinarily depose temporal princes, even for a just cause, in the way in which he deposes bishops, that is, as ordinary judge." As he also says, "As to laws, the Pope cannot, as Pope, ordinarily exact civil laws, or confirm, or nullify

the laws of princes, as he is not a political ruler."<sup>15</sup> In the same manner Lacroix says, "it is most certain that the Pope has direct power in spirituals, but it must be admitted with Sfondrati, that he has not ordinary and direct power in regard to princes, so as to depose them, whatever may be said in that behalf concerning the people and their chiefs, &c.;"<sup>16</sup> and he goes on to deny on the authority of Innocent the Third that the Pope has any direct power or temporals in France, or in any other country, though he may have extraordinary and indirect power, when the good of religion calls for its exercise. Again, Bianchi expressly declares that, "the Pope absolutely speaking, has not the power of deposing kings, nor of absolving their subjects from their allegiance; but he can in certain cases affecting religion, declare that princes have fallen from their sovereignty, and that their subjects are freed from their obligation to obey them. And such declaration is all that is in the power of the Church."<sup>17</sup>

Bianchi then proceeds to notice a point that has to some extent come under discussion during the present controversy, we mean the extreme penalty of death that might follow upon the excommunication and deposition of a recreant ruler. "That," he says, a deposed sovereign "should be exposed to death does not arise from the fact of his deposition by the authority of the Church, but from other causes contrary to her intention." The causes referred to are well known to any student of the history of the middle ages, and are these, that when a ruler had been put aside for misrule and tyranny by the public authorities of the State, whether moved thereto by Church censures or not, and still continued to molest and imperil the existence of the republic, he might be treated as an unjust aggressor, and if no other means of saving the country remained possible, the extreme penalty of death could be legitimately inflicted on him. But even so it was not competent to any private individual on his own mere authority to slay the tyrant, in any way by which he could compass the deed. This was the opinion condemned by the Council of Constance. But the action of the public authorities was required pronouncing such a doom, and, if necessary, arming the hand of every citizen against the oppressor of the State

<sup>15</sup> *De Rom. Pontiff.* lib. v. c. 36.

<sup>16</sup> Lib. iv. *De Jure Regalie*, n. 1405.

<sup>17</sup> *Potestà della Chiesa*, t. I. lib. i. sec. 8, pp. 77—82.

as the legal executioner of its just sentence. It is to this principle that Bianchi refers in the passage above quoted.

And Bellarmine, in a letter to Blackwell, A.D. 1650, speaks in the same sense. He says, "But that what is objected concerning the king's life, if the Supreme Pontiff possessed the same power in England that he enjoys in all other Christian countries, is entirely groundless, all who are endowed with any amount of common sense easily see. Nor has it ever been heard of from the beginning of the Church even up to these our own times, that any Supreme Pontiff has ordered any prince, whether heretic, or Gentile, or persecutor, to be slain, or approved of such a deed if perchance it has been perpetrated by any one. And why, pray, does the King of England alone fear what amongst so many Christian princes no other fears or hath feared?"

We have already discussed this subject at some length in the MONTH for March—April, 1873; and our space forbids us to enter further into it at present. We will content ourselves with putting before our readers a passage from St. Anselm, quoted by Dr. Döllinger, referring to the oath of allegiance. "St. Anselm excellently remarked, that the signification of the oath was, that the fidelity which was sworn to man drew its obligatory force from that fidelity which was due to God, for nothing was proclaimed by the oath more than this, 'In virtue of the fidelity I owe to God, I will be faithful to man.' If therefore," Döllinger adds, "the obedience sworn to man conflicted with that which was due to God, the former must necessarily lose its force of obligation."<sup>18</sup> The meaning of this clearly is that the civil ruler, by setting at defiance the laws of God, and trampling upon his own sworn obligations to his people, and by exposing his subjects to the danger of themselves disobeying God's law, had thus put obedience to himself in conflict with the obedience due to God; and in such a case there could be no question that God must be obeyed rather than man. And it is in this special and extreme case only that it can be alleged that the Church has ever sanctioned the notion that faith is not to be kept with heretics; and in doing so she was backed, as we have seen, by the public law of the day. But this is a subject the consideration of which we must defer to our next number.

We will conclude by quoting one other short passage of

<sup>18</sup> *History of the Church*, vol. iii. p. 324.

Bianchi, which points the lesson to be drawn from the general consideration of the question before us. "Hence it is manifest that this indirect power of the Church over the temporal power of rulers, serves as a check on the impetuosity of subjects, and restrains them from rebelling against their sovereign on every slight pretext of religion."

Such certainly might be expected to be the effect of this power of the Church on national affairs, if such power were recognized, and allowed full scope for its exercise; and practically, it may be added, such has always been the result where the requisite conditions existed. But not only so; a further advantage would accrue from it, the protection that would thus be afforded to subjects against the despotism or tyranny of sovereigns. It is well known how often the power of the Popes was called into play for the defence of oppressed subjects; that indeed its normal action during the middle ages was in favour of popular liberties, and tended to the gradual amelioration of the hard conditions of social life. We have sufficient evidence of this in the efforts of the Popes to eradicate slavery, and to calm the fierce spirit of the times, and mitigate the horrors of war by devices like the Truce of God. And there is one remarkable fact connected with this view of the subject that has perhaps not been sufficiently adverted to, the fact that the struggle of Philip le Bel with Boniface the Eighth, was the inauguration of that despotic spirit in the Government of France which in course of time developed into the full-blown absolutism of Louis the Fourteenth. This is abundantly shown in an able paper in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, October, 1874, "*La Royauté Française et le Droit Populaire*," to a bare reference to which we reluctantly confine ourselves for the present.

Were such a tribunal as the Pope's in full recognized activity in the world, we should have been spared the startling effect produced by a statement like the following. Mr. Gladstone says, "I should feel less anxiety on this subject had the Supreme Pontiff frankly recognized his altered position, since the events of 1870; and, in language as clear, if not as emphatic, as that in which he has proscribed modern civilization, given to Europe the assurance that he would be no party to the re-establishment by blood and violence of the Temporal Power of the Church."<sup>19</sup> A passage could hardly be selected that proves more demonstrably the necessity of some living guardian

<sup>19</sup> P. 49.

of the first principles of the moral law and of the law of nations, than this not very lengthy sentence; or one that would seem to indicate more clearly the lamentable obliviousness of those principles into which the modern world and its guiding minds have lapsed. For what is the gist of this most remarkable declaration? It represents in simple point of fact that the danger to the world's peace may come, not from the violation of all right, but from the possibility that at some future time an effort may be made to redress a great wrong. Mr. Gladstone's mind seems to be in a state of great confusion as to what is the valid ground, and the only valid ground for interrupting the peace of the world on any occasion whatever. The only justifiable ground for appealing to the arbitrament of war is breach of the law, of the law of nations, of the law of God. The reign of law is the only possible guarantee of peace. But nothing can legalize the possession of Rome by its present occupants, who all have attained their actual position by acts, every one of which was a crime of high-handed violence, and only rendered more revoltingly criminal by the gloss of hypocrisy and falsehood that was thrown over them. The reign of law then is impossible while such acts are recognized and applauded by men calling themselves statesmen. It is not too much to say that every step in the formation of the Italian Kingdom was a crime against what has hitherto been recognized as the public law of the world, and was an open violation of those principles of civil allegiance for which Mr. Gladstone is contending in passionate utterances, so well calculated to set the passions of others ablaze, and thus to conceal the true state of the case from the minds of men by rendering calm reflection impossible. Civil allegiance! It may well be asked, who have stood on the side of civil allegiance during the past three quarters of a century, and who have not? Whose allegiance has the Pope tampered with during that long period? Whose allegiance has he pronounced to be no longer binding? Have not the utterances of the Holy See always been on the side of legitimately constituted authority? But what on the other hand has been the action of Mr. Gladstone and those with whom he has cast in his lot in this very matter of civil allegiance? Who interfered with and attempted to break the link of mutual duty between the subjects of the Pope and their lawful monarch by an unblushing system of fraud, hypocrisy, violence, and

bloodshed? Who scattered bands of desperadoes, gathered from the scum of the earth, under the leadership of a vulgar and reckless infidel, amongst peaceful populations, without the shadow of a pretext that could justify their intervention, for the express purpose of dispensing such populations from their allegiance, and concussing them into rebellion against the Governments under which they lived? Nor was the crime lessened, if such a process were carried on under the Imperial colours, and the guidance of the Imperial blood of France, as was the case when Prince Napoleon made his revolutionary and criminal—because justified by none of the grounds that constitute lawful warfare—invasion of the fair and peaceful Italian provinces. It would be well if Mr. Gladstone would calmly ponder over questions like these before he takes the part of the wolf against the lamb, and stirs up the passions and prejudices of his fellow-countrymen by playing before their eyes possibilities, that if realized would be most legitimately realized on all principles of law and justice, but which we may confidently assert will never be realized in the fashion that he has conjured up for his own controversial purposes.

But we must conclude by saying that we cannot regret that this great discussion has been raised, however much we may regret the manner of raising it, and the pain and annoyance, temporary, we feel certain, that have resulted, and may result, from the consideration of the wide range of subjects involved in it. One certain effect of the discussion will be to throw Catholics back on first principles, and to show the necessity of their mastering those principles. And we may trust that it will not be without result either, in the same direction, as regards those who are not Catholics. If this should be so, we should begin to have better hopes of the world at large. What the present age is suffering from most of all is the utter ignorance of principle; what alone will save it will be the removal of that ignorance. But we may be quite certain that this great end will only in one way and by one method be attained. It will not be reached by flashy, spasmodic, hustings pamphlets, nor by chirping letters in the newspapers, nor by the gossiping theology of the palace ante-chambers, of the clubs, or of the counting-house; but by the calm consideration and thoughtful study of the most momentous topics that can affect mankind, by rational beings, who acknowledge their own responsibility before God.

T. B. P.

## *St. Gregory the Seventh.*

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### PART THE FIRST.

IF we are to form a true estimate of the character and acts of this great Pontiff, it is of the first importance to put ourselves in the times in which he lived, to grasp the leading principles of the Christian and Catholic polity that governed Europe, and to put aside absolutely the false Protestant maxims, according to which modern historians presume to sit in judgment on events and persons with which and whom they have not and cannot have any community of thought or sentiment. This and a succeeding article are designed to trace out the leading ideas, as exemplified in the action, of Gregory the Seventh, and thus to help the reader to choose the right point from which he can survey the course of that Pontiff's career.

It cannot be too clearly stated that a man, who judges the middle ages generally, and the Papacy and the Catholic Church in particular, on principles drawn from Protestantism, may indeed find opportunity of contrasting his own frame of mind with the governing spirit of those times, but he can never relate facts as they occurred: he cannot write history. And the reason of this inability is not far to seek. He cannot discover, or, if he discover, he cannot understand the motives or causes of acts which he sees; and failing in this, he supplies motives of his own, which could never by any possibility have entered into the brain of the man whose acts he describes. This may be illustrated by a parallel. If a man who had lived in the past ages of Catholicity could have been brought to the House of Commons last June to hear the debates on the Ritual question, and been told that among other legislators were Jews, Atheists, and Deists, he would doubtless have mildly suggested that a tribunal so composed was hardly competent to judge a question touching a Christian Church. But this premature judgment would have been corrected by the additional information that this Church—whatever might be said of its Christian character, as to which men were not agreed—was nothing but a *State* machine, and that the above-mentioned gentlemen were influential members of the *State*,

and had, therefore, a perfect right to determine the laws according to which that machine should move and work for the benefit of the public. The first hasty opinion would have been wrong, and, if recorded, would have given a false idea of the facts. In like manner, applying the illustration to the great field of ecclesiastical history, the historian, who puts out of sight the great Christian principles underlying the bare facts, can show at best but a meagre skeleton of the noble and living form that issues from the work of a Catholic writer. The vantage-ground of the latter can never be won by a Protestant, and if occupied, could not be taken full advantage of. And the reason is simple. We, who are in possession of the truth, can judge error, but error cannot judge the truth.

The subject of our present paper was one of the greatest men that ever sat on the Chair of St. Peter. Best known among Protestants as Hildebrand, he is described by his enemies as ambitious, unscrupulous, and proud, beyond what may become a man. The Catholic Church and history describe him as humble in private life, undaunted in the cause of God and justice, undismayed by the threats of the great, and ready for duty to lay down his life. We will briefly glance at one or two of the more famous episodes of his pontifical career.

Alexander the Second died April 21, 1073, and on the day following was buried. During this ceremony a shout arose from the whole people present, "Hildebrand shall be bishop." The name was unanimously accepted, and Hildebrand was literally raised by physical force to the Chair of St. Peter under the name of Gregory the Seventh. The election was canonical: the Cardinals and the Roman clergy, according to a decree of Alexander in 1059, giving their votes in accordance with the spontaneous expression of the people. Gregory yielded most unwillingly. His own assurances on this point are fully borne out by contemporary writers. In a letter to Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino, written immediately after his election, he says<sup>1</sup>—"Our Lord Pope Alexander is dead, and his death hath fallen upon me, and terrified and alarmed my inmost soul. . . . But as I am confined to my bed from extreme weariness, I cannot dictate sufficient, and therefore forbear to detail my difficulties to you. I beg you by the Almighty Lord to obtain prayers for me, so that the supplications, which ought to have saved me from falling into this peril, may at least preserve me now that I am in it." A letter, written nearly

<sup>1</sup> Regist. i. l.

at the same time, if not on the same day as the above, to Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, alludes to the reasons of his unwillingness to accept the dignity put upon him. "I can truly say with the prophet, 'I am come into the depth of the sea, and a tempest hath overwhelmed me. I have laboured with crying, my jaws are become hoarse, my eyes have failed, whilst I hope in my God.' I ask you, therefore, to show me the love you have promised me, if not for my merits, at least out of devotion to the Apostles, since the time and the posture of affairs demand that it shall be tried."

In truth, Gregory had fallen upon difficult times. He had, in different capacities, had opportunities during more than twenty years of becoming acquainted with the chief nations of Europe. He knew perfectly the degenerate state of the Church in Germany, and knowing it, he could not, while seated in the Chair of Peter, sanction it by his silence. Hence it was that, when he wrote to Henry the Fourth to announce his election, he begged the King not to confirm it, informing him with all the candour of his noble spirit, that if confirmed he would not patiently endure the King's wickedness.<sup>2</sup> Henry, however, (whether on account of the pressure arising from his Saxon troubles, or from a spirit of bravado, is not certain), confirmed Gregory. The Church in Germany was at this time bound down in slavery to the State. The lower clergy were nearly all married, and, dragged down by the natural wants of families, were driven to have recourse to vile and uncanonical expedients to supply those wants. Chief among these was simony. Most of the ecclesiastical benefices were in the hands of the laity, and these were accustomed to dispense them as dowries to their daughters, or as livings to their sons. Thus clerical concubinage led to simony, and simony to clerical concubinage. The Church was governed by families, and these handed down from parent to child ecclesiastical property and offices without any regard to merit or canon law. Bishoprics and abbacies were bought and sold. King Henry filled up vacancies by the appointment of his favourites, who in their turn won these prizes by purchase or by pandering to his passions and vices. The King's simony was open and unblushing. He made no scruple even of dispossessing one simoniacal bishop in favour of another, when the second offered a higher price for the office. These men in their turn took care that their bargain was

<sup>2</sup> This fact is mentioned by Bonizo, the friend of Gregory.

favourable to themselves. Accordingly they sold the offices, from the highest to the lowest, which were in their gift, and plundered churches and abbeys under their jurisdiction.

This description of Germany applies to Northern Italy, to Lombardy, and the archdiocese of Milan. The same servitude of the Church, the same causes of that slavery, clerical concubinage and simony. These were the two sources of the evils which afflicted the Church. These Gregory determined to extinguish. The first step to this end was to win over King Henry to his views. This monarch's position was a deplorable one. His father, Henry the Third, had died too young, leaving his son a child of five years to succeed him. The young King's guardians utterly neglected his training. His will was law from his earliest years; his caprices and passions, instead of being judiciously checked, were allowed full play, and he grew up a self-willed and imperious man. "He flung himself headlong into every sort of vice and broke through all the restraints of moderation and decency," says a contemporary. The description of the King given by the Saxon Bruno can be paralleled only by some of the blackest pages in which Tacitus describes the Courts of the early Roman Emperors. The royal Court at Goslar was the abode of infamous flatterers, who sought and won their own and their families' advancement by pandering to Henry's greed or lusts. This Court was the nursery of German bishops and abbots, who served a vile apprenticeship in order to become wolves to devour Catholic flocks. Well might the great Pope feel a sinking at heart, as with his experienced eye he surveyed the state of Germany. But the attempt was to be made. He won over the Empress-mother Agnes to his views; he was already secure of the help of the famous margravines Beatrice and Matilda of Tuscany, for his plans as regards Italy.

He now turned to the King. With him Gregory uses the greatest mildness: he assures him of the anxious affection he entertains towards him and of the desire he has for the King's well-being and prosperity. The sincerity of the Pope in this matter is beyond all doubt. His letters to other bishops and princes, and his more confidential correspondence prove that he had but one feeling towards Henry, a feeling of true fatherly love and anxiety to avoid the necessity of using correction by winning him to better courses.<sup>3</sup> In the August of 1073, the

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Regist. (Migne) lib. i. epp. 9, 11, 19, 24, &c.

Saxons rose against Henry, who narrowly escaped falling into their hands. He now wrote his famous letter<sup>4</sup> to the Pope, in which he confesses his past sins and follies and protests his resolve to follow Gregory's advice for the future. "We have not," he writes, "shown in all things, as we ought to have done, the due honour to the priesthood. . . . But now we are sorry at least, and we confess our sins to your paternity, trusting that we may deserve to be absolved by your Apostolic authority. Alas! how laden with crimes and unhappy we are. Partly under the impulse of our flattering boyhood, partly by reason of the liberty arising from our power, partly too by the seductive wiles of those whose deceitful advice we have too closely followed, we have sinned against heaven and before you, and now we are not worthy to be called your son. For not only have we seized upon ecclesiastical property, but we have sold churches themselves to any one, though unworthy and tainted by simony, who entered not by the door but by other means." Henry then asks the Pope's aid and advice in correcting these abuses, and, confessing that he had thrust the simoniacal Godfried into the archbishopric of Milan, he undertakes to allow that see to be filled canonically.<sup>5</sup> Here was a letter that cheered the heart of Gregory, who at once sends the good news to his friends at Milan, saying that he had received from the King words "full of sweetness and obedience." In order, however, to proceed with more rigour and to carry out his plans with greater ease, he held a Synod in Rome during the first week of Lent, of 1074, when three decrees of great moment were unanimously passed. (1) Whoever has obtained consecration or office by the heresy of simony, must no longer serve in the Church. (2) Whoever has obtained a benefice by money, loses it, and for the future no church (benefice) is to be bought or sold. (3) Any cleric, who is stained with the *crimen fornicationis*, is not to say

<sup>4</sup> There is no reason to doubt the opinion of Gfrörer that this letter is a piece of hypocrisy on the part of Henry.

<sup>5</sup> A subdeacon, Godfried, had bought the see from Archbishop Guy, who resigned in 1067 or 1068. Henry confirmed Godfried for a sum of money. Of course the Pope, Alexander the Second, could not recognize such a transaction. In January, 1072 (immediately after the death of Guy), Otto (or Atto) was canonically chosen archbishop in spite of the attempts of the royal faction to bring about the recognition of Godfried. During the festivities following the consecration of Otto, his enemies attacked him and by their horrible ill-treatment forced him to take an oath of renunciation. Otto went to Rome, where the Pope released him from his oath, declared him the rightful bishop and excommunicated Godfried.

Mass nor to serve the Church in any lower grade. It will be observed that these three decrees touch the two crying evils of the time, clerical concubinage and simony. It is impossible to deny, and Gregory's fiercest haters admit, that some strong action was requisite to bring back the clergy to a just sense of their position and to free them from the yoke of the secular power.<sup>6</sup> Gregory now took measures for securing the observance of the decrees. He sent a legate to France for that purpose, and (what was of greater importance) he succeeded by the aid of the Empress-mother Agnes and others in bringing Henry to back him. The King promised to sanction the deposition of simonists, to restore all confiscated Church property, and to dismiss the advisers whom he had recalled to his side in spite of their excommunication by Alexander the Second.

It is not to be supposed that the new order of things met with no opposition. Germany led the way, and in spite of the King's approbation of a scheme for holding a council to carry out the decrees, the bishops naturally resisted the measure. The lower clergy were bitterly hostile to the change, as it would bring ruin on them and their families.<sup>7</sup> The Archbishop of Mayence, after giving his clergy an interval of six months to decide between obedience and resignation, called a synod at Erfurt in 1074, where he was nearly murdered. Bishop Altmann of Passau, a bright example in a degenerate

<sup>6</sup> Milman (*History of Latin Christianity*) between his dislike of Gregory and his conviction that the abuses which Gregory resolved on suppressing were real, is betrayed into extraordinary conclusions. He calls the Pope's action "declaring war upon the Empire" (a significant admission): he speaks of "the fierceness of the more rude and profligate thus sternly and almost suddenly (!) interrupted in their licentiousness; whose secret but ill-concealed voluptuousness was dragged to light." He descants on the "sweet charities of life" enjoyed by the married clergy, ignoring the fact that these sweet charities were considered a *crimen fornicationis* in the clergy. He admits that the advocates of clerical celibacy had "all the prejudices (!) of centuries in their favour, the greatest names of the Church, long usage, positive laws, decrees of Popes, axioms of the most venerable Fathers," and yet, as though these were not sufficient grounds of obedience, he speaks of Gregory's renovation of old laws as "hardship and cruelty," and of Gregory as "deliberately sacrificing the cherished sanctity, the inviolability of the priesthood." Was it clerical "licentiousness," and clerical "voluptuousness," or Gregory's reform that sacrificed the "sanctity of the priesthood"?

<sup>7</sup> Hallam, Milman, and others, make it a point to quote Sigebert of Gemblours, who says that the decrees against simony and concubinage made matters worse. If his description be true—and there are marks of exaggeration in it—it only proves that the necessity of the reform was very great. So Döllinger. The above writers accept implicitly Sigebert's assertion that Gregory declared all sacraments administered by the offending clerics null and void. An absurdity, which is a proof, if any were needed, of the impossibility under which Protestants lie of judging Catholic matters. Sigebert himself, if not grossly ignorant, was guilty of a gross calumny.

age, who had previously reformed the monasteries under his jurisdiction, after giving his clergy some time for reflection, was dragged from his cathedral pulpit where he was publishing the decrees, and, had it not been for the help of laics, would have been torn to pieces by the raging mob of clergy. Otto of Constance not only made no attempt in the direction of reform, but actually disobeyed the decrees by allowing unmarried clergy to take wives.

Similar scenes occurred in France and Normandy. Before the decrees reached Rouen, a synod had been held there under the protection of the Conqueror, in which simony was strictly repressed. In this matter at least William was a model sovereign. The synod had passed off quietly. But when the Archbishop attempted to enforce celibacy, the priests drove him out of the church, where a new synod was being held, with a shower of stones.

The soul of the great Gregory was overwhelmed with sorrow. Borne down by age and grief, he had a severe sickness in the autumn of 1074. On his recovery he writes in October of that year to the margravines Beatrice and Matilda, two souls congenial with his own: "We have, contrary to everybody's expectation, recovered our health, for which we think there is more reason to grieve than to rejoice. For our soul yearned for and with all its desire thirsted after that country in which He, Who considers the sorrow and the toil of each, gives quiet and refreshment to the weary. Reserved still for our usual toils and for infinite anxieties, we every hour suffer the straitening pangs of childbirth, on seeing almost before our eyes, the Church suffering shipwreck while we cannot steer it into safety." Somewhat later, on the 22nd of January, 1075, he thus opens his heart to Hugh, the Abbot of Cluny. The style shows that he writes as a friend to a friend to solicit friendship's sympathy. "If it were possible, I should like you to know what sorrow straitens me, what daily renewed labour distresses me, so that according to the anxieties of my soul your brotherly sympathy might turn towards me and cause you to pour out your heart before God, that Jesus, by Whom all things were made, and Who governs all things, would stretch out His hand to a poor man, and with His wonted pity save the unhappy. For I have often asked Him, as He has inspired me, either to take me out of this life or to use me as an instrument for the good of our common mother;

and still He has not so far snatched me out of my great sorrow, nor has my life brought succour, as I hoped, to our mother, by whose chains He has bound me." He then casts a glance over the Church, where he finds the East broken off from the parent stem ; the West, the South, and the North suffering from prelates who are bad in morals, and simoniacal in office, and from princes who are careless of God's honour, while they are solicitous about their own. "When I return upon myself, I feel so oppressed by the burden of my own being, that there remains no hope of salvation but in the mercy of Christ. For did I not hope to live a better life, and be of some use to Holy Church, I certainly would not stay in Rome, where, as God is my witness, I have lived twenty years under compulsion. Hence it is that between grief, which is renewed every day, and hope, which is, alas ! too long deferred, I am tossed about by a thousand tempests, and I die while I live. I await Him Who has bound me with His chains, and brought me back against my will to Rome, where He has girt me about by a thousand troubles. Often do I say to Him, make haste and tarry not and deliver me for the love of Blessed Mary and holy Peter."

Truly this was a great man, who, while his assigned lot kept him in the flesh, had manifestly but one idea, one aim, to live and strive for the glory and honour of Christ. Ambition should be made of sterner stuff than Gregory was made of. These confidential letters offer no trace of the ambition after a universal Papal monarchy which is usually attributed to Gregory.

Notwithstanding the opposition made to the decrees of the Lenten synod of 1074, Gregory had no mind to fold his arms while his Father's house was burning. He resolved on holding another synod during the Lent of 1075, to which he summoned several of the more negligent German bishops. Among these were Otto of Constance, whom we have already seen breaking the decrees, and the infamous Hermann of Bamberg. Towards the former Gregory was indulgent in the extreme. He pointed out to him in a fatherly letter the grave character of his offence, in having disobeyed the Pope's orders in a matter of vital moment, and then ordered him to appear in Rome at the next synod to give an account of his conduct. At the same time Gregory suspended him from his jurisdiction until he showed himself ready to submit.

We have seen that King Henry showed some inclination towards carrying out the decrees against simony and concu-

binage. In the December of 1074, Gregory wrote to thank him for his good dispositions. He assures him of the great pleasure he felt on hearing that the King was willing to cooperate in rooting out "the heresy of simony and the hardened disease of clerical fornication." The Pope adds that he remembers the King in his Holy Sacrifices, praying that God will prosper his reign, and extend his power to the advantage of the Church. "I advise you, my good son, and exhort you with sincere love to choose counsellors who love you rather than your gifts, and who are anxious about your welfare rather than about their own profit." He next alludes to the distracted state of the Church of Milan, treating Henry's disgraceful conduct in creating and fostering it with the greatest indulgence and consideration. "If you send to us religious and prudent men who can show by reason and authority that the holy Roman Church either can or ought to change a twice-made decree, we will not be slow in yielding to their judgment, and in accepting the juster line of action; but if it become clearly impossible to cancel our arrangement, I will ask and entreat your Highness, for the love of God, and out of reverence to St. Peter, to restore freely its rights to that Church."

The same day he writes a second letter to Henry entreating him not to lend his ear to the whisperings of the evil-minded, who are striving, for their own ends, to sow disunion between Pope and king. He assures him that, if his heart could be read, there would be no doubt of the true and sincere love he bears the King. Even in a delicate matter such as this, the great Gregory is himself; open-hearted and frank, so that it must be a malevolent mind indeed that can doubt his truth and honesty of purpose. "As I desire day and night, through many dangers and even to death itself, to toil in the vineyard of the Lord, I shall always strive, with the help of God, to preserve a true love for you, whom God has placed on the highest pinnacle of power, and through whom many may either be led astray from the right path, or be brought to an observance of the Christian religion." At the beginning of January, 1075, Gregory wrote also to Rudolph of Swabia and Berthold of Carinthia, to interest them in the reforms he had so much at heart. He urges them to insist on the observance of the ecclesiastical laws, and not to permit any simoniacial priest to exercise his sacred functions, or any one guilty of fornication to serve the Church.

R. C.

## Catholic Review.

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### I.—REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *Die Beiden Pontifical-Schriften des Apostel Fürsten Petrus.* Eine Fest Schrift zur Einnerung an das Fünfund zwanzig jährige Papst-Jubiläum des Heiligen Vaters Pius IX. Von Dr. Ludwig Joseph Hundhausen, Professor der Theologie am Bischoflichen Seminar in Mainz. Erster Band. Der Erste Brief des Heiligen Petrus. Franz Kirchheim, Mainz, 1873. (The two Pontifical Letters of Peter, the Prince of the Apostles. In remembrance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Pontificate of our Holy Father Pius the Ninth. By Dr. Ludwig Joseph Hundhausen, Professor of Theology in the Episcopal Seminary at Mainz. Vol. I. The First Epistle of St. Peter. Mainz, 1873.)

As we read in the Preface to the first volume, the only one that has come to hand, this exposition of the Canonical Epistles of the Prince of the Apostles owes its origin to the author's desire of raising a memorial of the late Papal Jubilee, and of laying at the feet of him, who alone of all his predecessors has attained the "years of Peter," the tribute of his filial homage. Owing to the pressure of other occupations, two years have elapsed ere he had prepared for publication this first instalment of his work. We leave him to set forth, in his own fervid accents, his reasons for persisting in his original purpose.

Still less could I forego this design, stimulated as I was by the magnificent demonstrations of Catholic consciousness, as manifested on this auspicious occasion, in every part of the inhabited globe, and the Apostolic bearing of the venerable old man in the Vatican has helped me in more ways than one to a more living and deeper realization of the divinely-inspired thoughts and intuitions of the Prince of the Apostles. For in the cherished and venerated person of Pius the Ninth, throughout the whole series of his Apostolic works and trials, we may find the living, aye, even the ideal type of that steadfast faith in the world-subduing power of Christianity, of that consoling trust in the Divine protection amid sufferings and persecutions, of that deep-seated and devoted love for the crucified Saviour, of those sublime conceptions of the dignity of the Christian, and of the position he holds with regard to the world, which stand out in bold relief on every page of these Epistles of the Prince of the Apostles. His life and utterances are throughout instinct with that majestic indignation against falsehood and sin, against the lawless oppressors of Christian conscience, with the practical realization of the saving truths, that all-embracing charity which excludes not even enemies and persecutors, with that divinely imparted sense of the significance and merit of suffering endured for Christ's sake, to which the inspired Apostle has given expression. Truly, then, may I say that Pius the Ninth has guided me to a deeper and more living understanding of the thoughts and speculations of the Coryphaeus of the Apostles, and has taught me to apprehend their bearings on the sufferings and struggles of the Church in these

days of ours. I am therefore but fulfilling the duty of gratitude in laying this imperfect work at the feet of one who, as the not unworthy successor of Peter, has so nobly set forth to the modern world the high thoughts, the sublime speculations of this Apostle, and in dedicating it as a memorial of the day when Pius added to his numerous traits of resemblance to St. Peter that of having equalled him in the term for which he held the bishopric of Rome.

As the reader will not fail to perceive, the work is a development of the ideas expressed above. Without neglecting the literal sense, the solid and indispensable groundwork of all Scriptural exegesis, the author forgets not that the words of inspiration are not a mere peg for philosophical disquisitions, but that they are "Spirit and life," and must needs be apprehended as such. From this stand-point he deals with the successive utterances of the Apostle as an organic whole, considering them in their relation with the plan and scope of the sacred writer, the circumstances of those whom he addresses, with the teaching and life of the Church, and concentrating on them the light which shines from the parallel passages to be met with in our Lord's discourses, or in the other inspired authors, whom St. Peter had occasion to study. He has thus found it easy to fulfil the promise set forth on the title-page, in other words, eschewing that somewhat overstrained accommodation of the sacred text, which, though allowable in a homily or an ascetic treatise, is simply unpardonable in a commentary, he has set forth the bearings of the Apostle's warnings, encouragements, and exhortations on the present distress, and shows how fitly words addressed full eighteen centuries ago to the infant Churches of Asia Minor, may serve, in these days, to account for the conflict of the Church hemmed in on all sides by the serried hosts of anti-Christian unbelief, and supply the formula of the dread award of Divine Justice against her gainsayers and assailants.

A cursory glance at the contents of this First Epistle will suffice to justify the author's view as to the peculiar adaptation of these utterances of the Wisdom that is from above, to the present difficulties of the Church, and to those which are even now looming in no distant future. The special theme of the Apostle is hope, the outcome and development of an unwavering, practical faith. As the commentator has satisfactorily established, the report of Silas or Silvanus on the external circumstances and spiritual state of these struggling communities of Asia Minor, which, for the most part, had been founded by St. Paul, seems to have determined the Apostle to address them from Rome at a date somewhat anterior to the outburst of the Neronic persecution (A.D. 64). Smarting as they were under the inflictions of a social persecution, which is but too frequently, as we may yet learn, the harbinger of legal oppression, he reminds them of the dignity and hopes of their Christian calling, and of the practical bearings thereof on their behaviour under trial. Vindicating, as he never misses an opportunity of doing, the essential unity of the new and the elder Covenant, he shows that the sufferings of Christ, in which it is their lot to share, and the gift He thereby purchased for

His people, were objects of longing and research for the prophets of old, a mystery at once ravishing and baffling the ken of angelic minds. He grounds, on these promises, the earnest whereof has been imparted to them, lessons of earnestness, sobriety, patient trust, and obedience, laying special stress on the pre-eminent graces of faith, hope, and brotherly love, on the ground of that living communion with God vouchsafed to them through the immolation and resurrection of Christ. He proceeds in the second chapter to encourage them to spiritual growth in grace and truth, in order to the realization of the sublime purpose of their calling. The Apostle has left on this portion of his work the impress of a mind imbued with that spiritualized Judaism, which finds its complement in the Gospel of Christ. The lofty status vouchsafed to them isolates them, in one sense, from the mass of ignorance and corruption by which they are surrounded, but imposes upon them special duties to their Gentile neighbours, and hence we have an entire system of practical and relative obligations, urged with marked earnestness, by the example of Christ, the great Model of innocent and patient endurance. The third chapter opens with the mutual duties of wives and husbands. Then follows an exhortation to the Christian graces of meekness and submission to wrong, so much needed in times of persecution, with an appeal to the sufferings of Christ, and to the mystic import of the Baptismal rite. The following chapter urges the mortification of fleshly lusts, with a special reference to the sins they had been habituated to before their conversion, on the ground of the analogy of the new life of the risen Christ, a topic which will be familiar to the readers of St. Paul. The judgment to come is then announced, both with reference to their oppressors and as an incentive to a careful discharge of religious, ecclesiastical, and social obligations. The Epistle seems to have ended here with the doxology,<sup>1</sup> but as may be plausibly surmised, the thought of present inflictions and coming woes stirs the pastoral heart of the writer to insist on the unspeakable privilege of suffering for Christ's sake, with an elevation and sympathy of tone which, as the learned Possevin has justly observed, far transcends aught to be met with in pagan literature. He concludes by reminding the clergy and laity of these several Churches of their respective duties, and summarily states<sup>2</sup> the object of this Epistle, which was to testify to the soundness and completeness of their religious position, and to comfort and strengthen them at a season of trial. In the course of the commentary, to which our limited space will allow but a brief allusion, the author gives impartially the views of his predecessors, with the several reasons for adopting or rejecting them, thus enabling the reader to form an unbiased judgment as to the meaning of the disputed passages, and affording him an insight into the laws and spirit of hermeneutics, while giving demonstrative evidence of the depth and riches of the Word of Life, which, having exercised for ages the mightiest intellects, is still unfathomable, and

<sup>1</sup> iv. II.<sup>2</sup> v. 12.

cannot be apprehended of the human mind in the fulness of its treasures of truth and wisdom.

We would claim special attention for the introductory sections, where the life and character of the Prince of the Apostles, the history of the Churches he addresses, the preliminary questions as to the purpose and occasion, the time and place of his writing, are given with that pains-taking and conscientious erudition by which the productions of the German mind are so honourably distinguished. These prolegomena close with a dissertation on the authenticity of the Epistle, and an exhaustive though rapid survey of the several writers who from the days of Clement of Alexandria till the present, have commented on the Canonical Epistles of St. Peter. We can but express our sincere desire that the author may complete his work, and earnestly recommend the portion that has appeared to Biblical students.

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2. *Jésus Christ.* Par Louis Veuillot, avec une étude sur l'art Chrétien, par E. Cartier.  
Paris : Firmin Didet. London : Burns and Oates, 1875.

In these days of sumptuous books, it was fitting that the Life of our Lord should appear in royal robes. Louis Veuillot's beautiful work, where we see him in his calmer mood, devoting his undoubted talents and his masterly power over the French language to the sublimest of subjects, could not certainly have ambitioned a more costly setting. Instead of merely illustrating the scenes of our Blessed Saviour's dwelling amongst us, or aiming at giving a correct notion of the costumes of His days, Christian art has been made to bring its greatest conceptions to throw back their light on the sacred narrative.

The very lining of the cover, with its exquisite catacomb pattern, raises our expectations of a carefully planned and delicately executed work of art, and as we turn over page after page we feel that we are not disappointed. The book is a choice gallery of gems, if not all of equal merit, that would be impossible, yet so well selected, so many of the greatest perfection in reproduction, that we could go back to it again and again before we are familiar with its numerous beauties.

The book opens with a chromo-lithograph, one only of sixteen, the central group of the upper part of Raphael's *Disputa*, the perfected ideal of what the artist, when but a youth, had painted for the Camaldolese of Perugia, his earliest fresco. It would be too long to enumerate even the most remarkable illustrations. We can only call attention to some few of them. They are taken from all schools of art, from paintings, engravings, sculpture, illuminations, Church plate, ancient cameos, photographs from nature. Many of them are reproductions, by photographic printing, of choice etchings of Marc Antonio, Albert Durer, or Rembrandt. Of these may be singled out a double-page engraving of the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence, after Baccio Bandinelli, and a Dead Christ, from the Taylorian Gallery, Oxford, after Raphael,

both by Marc Antonio, and a superb Marriage of Cana, by Veronese, in the Louvre, by a modern engraver.

Two or more illustrations are taken from the sculptures of the Abbey Church of Solesmes, so little known in England, so very worthy of a visit. Several of the block prints of the Canticle of Canticles of the fifth century, whose beauty is well known to the visitors to the British Museum, are perfectly reproduced. M. Cartier has added to Veuillot's letter-press an essay on Christian art, also beautifully illustrated with buildings of the various periods; old St. Paul *fuori le mura*, Santa Sophia, modern St. Peter's, Notre Dame de Paris, figure among representative types. He is severe against the Renaissance, and perhaps unjust; but the illustrator of the work has not shared his opinions, for almost every school of every period and every country is represented. We thoroughly indorse his judgment on Rubens as a religious painter, and think with him that no artist has ever led public taste so far astray. Only one of Rubens' school has a place.

Michael Angelo's creations and Raphael's Bible find their strong contrast in the bas-reliefs of Giovanni di Pisa from the façade of Orvieto, and a mosaic of Monreale, and these contrasts are intentional. Giotto and Duccio of Siena, and other early Italian masters, lead on to Fra Angelico, whose works recur in wood engravings and chromo-lithographs. There is a very curious one of Christ instituting the Sacrament of Penance, the priest untying the penitent. Perhaps no hand, however skilled, can ever catch the secret inspiration which lies in the heads painted by that holy friar. But they are reproduced in this work with marvellous fidelity. We might single out for special commendation the Visitation, by Ghirlandajo, in the Louvre; its delicate touches are like those of a carefully tinted photograph. Of Andrea del Sarto there is a masterly *grisaille*, a thoroughly representative picture.

The French school of the seventeenth century very naturally takes a prominent place, and Le Sueur, the painter of the Life of St. Bruno, presents us with a Veronica from the Louvre, worthy in grace and pathos to rank besides the Pietà, by Francia, in our National Gallery. The modern religious school of France offers us, in a superb chromo-lithograph, one of Flandrin's latest and greatest works, the Entry into Jerusalem, from St. Germain des Prés, besides engravings of others of his works. The French Court in the International Exhibition, just closed, gave a good idea, to those who have not visited Paris, of the amount of work that has been done of late years in the way of decorating with mural paintings the churches of Paris. Many of these are reproduced here.

The various relics of the Passion are carefully drawn, and an engraving from a manuscript which perished in the flames of the Palais de Justice of Paris, shows the great relics of the Sainte Chapelle as when solemnly exposed under the great throne over the high altar.

We might linger long over the numberless outward treasures of M. Veuillot's magnificent edition; they have almost made us forget the

*treasure* they are made to contain. But we believe the work itself is sufficiently well known. We cannot resist, however, the pleasure of translating one of its closing sentences.

A free choice is always left to each of us ; sometimes it is put before mankind at large. A divine decree forces the world to declare for Barrabas or for Christ. Modern civilization, founded on the Divinity of Jesus Christ, is now going through just such an awful crisis. It is inclined towards Barrabas; it listens willingly to those who cry out, "Away with Jesus Christ!" And what will happen if Jesus Christ is driven away?

To take Jesus Christ from the world is impossible. Even the tomb would preserve Him alive. He may allow men to tear Him from His throne, and nail Him to the Cross. Now, the mind that is planning this great crime against God and against the human race, does not wish so much to snatch the crown from kings, as to give to them the tiara, the triple crown of the threefold concupiscence, the tiara of Satan. When we shall see Jesus Christ again on Calvary, we shall see once more Tiberius at Capri, and the god Tiberius will again have his temples. . . . The Church is like the torrent of liquid fire which comes from the countries of the sun, and which traverses the cold waters of the sea throughout their vast extent. No doubt, the whole sea is not warmed ; there are still regions which are frozen. But if this blessed stream did not exist, everything would be ice, all would perish.

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3. *Peace through the Truth.* By the Rev. T. Harper, of the Society of Jesus.  
Second Series, Part I. London : Burns and Oates, 1874.

This important work has only reached us just as we are going to press. We can therefore now do nothing more than briefly state the subject of the book. It is surely praiseworthy, in days like ours, to treat a subject as patiently, thoroughly, and exhaustively as Father Harper has done. When social, moral, historical, and theological questions of the most varied character, and of the most weighty issues, are all disposed of in a moderately-sized pamphlet, our author stands up as a striking contrast, and as strong a protest, by giving a volume of seven hundred and fifty pages as an answer to but one objection against Papal Infallibility urged by the Oxford Regius Professor of Hebrew. His defence, if defence is needed, is that what deserves an answer, deserves to be answered thoroughly, and an incomplete reply would be worse than absolute silence. If this particular objection calls for such notice it is because the peculiar position, one might almost say prophetic position, the objicient holds in the eyes of so many Protestants of the Established Church gives Dr. Pusey's assertions a value quite beyond their intrinsic merit. Thus his lightest assertions become a bar to the acceptance of the Church's authority, a grievous *scandalum* to many an earnest and sincere soul.

The objection answered in this new volume is stated by Father Harper as follows—

Two Popes at different epochs of the Church's history give it as their judgment that marriage within the degrees specified in the Levitical law is prohibited by divine authority, and that consequently no Pope can dispense in such cases. One of them distinctly and by name prohibits marriage with a sister-in-law ; and this prohibition is confirmed by Eugenius the Fourth.

On the other hand, Alexander the Sixth gives a dispensation for the marriage, now of a king with his sister-in-law, now of another king with his aunt. "I see absolutely no way," says Dr. Pusey in his *Eirenicon*, "in which Alexander the Sixth, upon the forbidden decrees, can be reconciled with Gregory the First."

Father Harper, of course, points out that as Catholics do not hold the impeccability of Popes, and as Alexander the Sixth did not commit himself to any *ex cathedra* declaration on the matter, he *might* simply have done wrong in granting such a dispensation; thus any objection against Infallibility from such facts falls to the ground. But as what Alexander the Sixth did was in accordance with the "unanimous teaching of post-Tridentine theologians" and the practice of many other Popes, Father Harper avails himself of the objection to go fully into the important questions which form the subject of his book; and while he shows once more the hopeless blundering of a learned man, who will go beyond his province without guide or training, he, in a most complete and lucid way, explains matters of grave importance at the present day.

What is the meaning of "Law," "Divine and Natural Law"? Is the Mosaic binding on the Christian Church? What is the power of granting dispensations? What the relations of the Levitical to the Natural Law? Did the Church ever hold marriage with a deceased wife's sister to be part of the moral law, and unchangeable? Did the Fathers and schoolmen, whom Dr. Pusey quotes in his support, ever hold this? What is the positive teaching on the matter, and that of post-Tridentine theologians?

This bald enumeration gives no idea of the number of collateral subjects which are treated under these heads; for example, the question of Ecclesiastical Celibacy, an *argumentum ad hominem* against Dr. Pusey's endeavour to establish a divine prohibition of the forbidden degrees, inasmuch as the celibacy of the clergy has been just as strongly insisted on by the Church, as the observance of the impediments of marriage.

4. *Bossuet and his Contemporaries.* By the Author of *A Dominican Artist, Life of St. Francis of Sales, &c.* Rivingtons, London, Oxford, and Cambridge, 1874.

A new life of Bossuet, by one whose writings have been so well received, naturally attracts considerable attention. The work has been done by a graceful and loving hand, and gives a very interesting sketch of the times of the Grand Monarque. A thorough sympathy with the subject of the biography, suspended rather than relinquished during the episode of Bossuet's quarrel with Fénelon, carries the reader along with a fellow feeling. A Catholic can read here the life of a Catholic Bishop, written by one who is not a Catholic, without meeting with anything but a profound respect for his faith, unless we except some rare passages, such as an Anglican must put in by way of apology for a position, which otherwise would be utterly untenable. But even these are not hostile in their tone, and are rather errors of judgment

than of will. Indeed the aim of the story seems to be directed against certain leaders of the Church of England, and to the providing of balm for those of its members who feel keenly the strange contradictions and open discord which reign among themselves.

The very enthusiasm of the biographer manifests that the work is one which falls in with ideas, and defends causes popular among a party at the present day. Indeed, the work might have been called "Anti-Infallibilists in the Church of France." It is therefore all the more important that attention should be directed to whatever seems to be a misapprehension, either of the character of Bossuet and his contemporaries, or of the historical facts of their times.

It is then in no censorious spirit, for the general fairness of the book disarms criticism, but merely in the interests of truth that we desire to point out in what the biography falls short of a correct representation of the men and the period of which it treats. And in the first place the authoress has apparently not seen the last and most important work upon Bossuet,<sup>1</sup> by Canon Réaume. "There is no popular Life of Bossuet," she writes, "to be found in France—Cardinal de Bausset's is the only one, and that is bulky and dry."<sup>2</sup> And intrinsic evidence would be enough to show that the work was really unknown to the writer. The whole character of the life, the absence of several important details, almost all tending in one direction, prove that Bausset has been the chief authority. We are free to admit that to many the English life may be more entertaining and less dry, as it is less bulky, than the conscientious work of the Canon. In fact, if we might hazard a criticism, Madame de Sevigné comes in upon the scene, certainly always in an amusing way, but perhaps too frequently. Cross lights, of course, add greatly to the colour and filling in of the picture, but they are here too much of one colour. A most important consequence follows from the too strict following of Cardinal Bausset. A Gallican of the old school, once, though for a brief space approver of the Constitutional clergy, he was simply a panegyrist of the genius whom he regarded as the very highest type of a Gallican. To quote M. Réaume: "The venerable author—was but a poor theologian, and a still poorer canonist, a double void very hard to fill up. Besides, he blindly obeyed that extreme and ignorant Gallicanism, behind which the Restoration sheltered itself, and which the bishops of his time looked upon as the palladium of monarchy. If we walk by the light of so misty a lamp we are sure to fall into confusion, mistakes, contradictions, and false and injurious imputations against the Holy See and Catholic Truth." M. Floquet, also cited by our author in her Preface, "is," says M. Réaume, "a Gallican of the old Parliament school, more so even than his predecessor (the Cardinal) plus the additional defect,

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, et de ses œuvres.* Par M. Réaume, chanoine de l'Eglise de Meaux. Paris : Vives, 1869.

<sup>2</sup> Preface, p. vi.

of the *total absence* of all theological knowledge." Floquet is, too, an unadulterated panegyrist.

This gives at once the key to the whole spirit of the book, and to the picture it puts before us of the Eagle of Meaux.

The episode, so sad and disgraceful—what other word can one use of Bossuet's conduct towards Fénelon?—is an evident puzzle to the authoress, an episode out of all harmony with the high virtue of her hero. But we are bound to say, and history is there to bear us out, that the campaign against Rome, and against the Jesuits, presents him in an equally dark light. Personal feeling against one man is not so reprehensible as when it is directed against a whole body, or against those whom he looked upon as his chief pastors, the vicars of Jesus Christ.

Opposition to authority, protest against the Pope, hatred of the Society of Jesus, are easily condoned by those who deny that authority, and refuse to see in the Bishops of Rome the divinely appointed Head of God's Church upon earth; but Bossuet must stand or fall by the principles which he professed, the principles of the Catholic Church. And while willingly extending to him all the excuses which may be drawn from his later education, the atmosphere in which he lived, the views of so many of his time, we cannot forget that he owed to the Jesuits his schooling, and to Cornet, the staunch supporter of Catholic Truth and the "Privilegia Petri," his theological training. Nor could it have escaped the clear perception of Bossuet that the spring of action was not the purest in those who headed the attack upon Rome, or that other reasons besides love of holiness urged on the cry against the *Morale relâchée*.

In these days the interest about Bossuet centres in the part he took in the four Articles of the Gallican Church. And we may assert that in proportion to its importance, so in no part of the work before us has the authoress gone so far astray. We say this not in blame, because she has only followed the blind, her own Protestant principles making her as blind as her leader. We regret that she has not made so important a point a subject of wider study, and, instead of taking all her information from so violent a partisan as Cardinal Bausset, had not consulted any of the numerous works which especially of late have been written on the subject, and some of which are enumerated in the *avant-propos* of Canon Réaume's second volume. Of these, Judge Gérin's<sup>3</sup> exhaustive work is perhaps the most valuable.

We shall follow our authoress through chapter ii., commenting as we go. Bossuet was no more elected as deputy by the metropolitan chapter of Paris, than were the other members of what was simply a packed assembly. *La Roi le veut.* A *congé d'élire*, supported by *lettres de cachet*, issued by the King, summoned those whom he wished, or ordered the provincial assemblies to elect them, and excluded as

<sup>3</sup> *Recherches Historiques sur l'Assemblée du Clergé de France de 1682.* Par Charles Gérin, Juge au Tribunal Civil de la Seine. Paris: Jacques Lecoffre, 1869.

arbitrarily those whom he did not wish. Fleury says expressly, "The King willed (*voulut*) that the Bishop of Meaux should form part of the Assembly. Legendre, who was secretary to Monseigneur de Harlay, the then Archbishop of Paris, whose character is shown in the work we are reviewing, says that his master knowing that no Pope would ever make him Cardinal, inveigled Bossuet into drawing up the Articles, so as to prevent the bishop from obtaining the hat, and the pre-eminence the dignity would have conferred over himself. Le Dieu tells us that the real author was Colbert, who, in the first instance, was opposed by Tellier. His nominees to the Episcopate were willing to do whatever was required of them. And he adds that M. de Harlay, throughout, did nothing but flatter the Court, give ear to the Ministers, and follow their wishes blindly like a serving-man. The second order of clergy were to have merely a consultative vote ; they were disfranchised by a stroke of the King's pen. It is a sad page in M. Gérin's work where he paints to the life the prelates, who were honoured by the choice of their sovereign, and the other members of the clergy who received the same distinction. Thirty-six archbishops and bishops, only a fourth of the Episcopate, and thirty-eight, an almost invisible minority, of the clergy alone were summoned. Fléchier, Bourdaloue, Fénelon, Mabillon, Rancé, La Salle, were not there ; not a single member of any religious body, or of the various congregations of the time.

Bossuet's oratorical flourish that "the exercise of the Apostolic Power is to be limited by canons laid down by the Holy Ghost, and consecrated by the respect of the *whole world*," and that "the rules, customs, and institutions, received by the French Crown and Church, are truly valid," remind us of like assertions by the courtly churchmen of our Henry the Second and of Henry the Eighth, and simply beg the whole question. Any Catholic treatise, "De Romano Pontifice," will show how false and unwarranted are his statements. But our authoress is still less authorized to confound, as she does, the faithful adherents to their allegiance towards the Vicar of Jesus Christ, with the Ligueurs who a few centuries before had "invoked the army and gold of the King of Spain in their secular affairs." Without venturing into the question as to how far the position of France justified such a step after the death of Henry the Third, we can only say that while the Ligueurs were only the party of a time, the true Catholic doctrines about the Papacy, were, even in 1682, the tradition of France, and the Gallican doctrines were almost confined to the obsequious lawyers of the Court and the Parliament ; indeed, it was only because of the thralldom in which the clergy were held and their dependence on the Crown that their acceptance could be forced upon them.

The Jansenists very naturally took the side of the Declaration. The desperate measures which had to be resorted to in order to oblige the Sorbonne to accept the four Articles are told in full by M. Gérin in the eighth chapter of his work. Spite of banishment, suspension of salary, and every means that was at the disposal of the most despotic of

sovereigns, spite of prohibitions even to discuss the question, only one hundred and sixty-two of the Faculty of Theology out of seven hundred and fifty, could be got to sign their approval. We are sorry to read that the rigourist Tronson obliged his professors at St. Sulpice to teach these four Articles in their schools.

As to the immediate cause of the quarrel, the author says, "The Regalia, was in itself of comparatively little importance." Surely no Englishman thinks any invasion of private or public rights by a sovereign of little importance! And yet the question was whether Louis the Fourteenth was to take possession of all benefices, *sede vacante*, in dioceses where no custom, nor law, nor Papal concessions had given him such a right. Even Fleury called the Regalia, one of the slaveries of the Gallican Church.<sup>4</sup> But two bishops had the courage to say no. Though they had both been for years in possession of their sees, Louis pretended that the right of the Regalia still extended over their vacant benefices, and gave them away at his will. One of them died shortly after; the other, Mgr. Caulet of Pamiers, whose holy life had made up for his early leanings to Jansenism, appealed to his primate, but the unworthy creature of Colbert, Mgr. Montpeyat, Archbishop of Toulouse, rejected his suit, and he appealed to Rome. Innocent the Eleventh did not at once take the side of the bishop, but hoped that the French Episcopate would have that sense of its dignity which would compel it to act in defence of Mgr. Caulet. It was only in 1679, after the preceding briefs had remained unanswered, that he sent the brief which was to vindicate the rights of the Church by revoking the appointments made by the King, and censuring the persecutors. People then judged the conduct of the Pope very differently from our authoress, and a contemporary writer in speaking of the insolent letter, which the King obliged<sup>5</sup> his servile prelates to address to his Majesty, said they would certainly not have followed the example of Bishop Fisher or St. Thomas of Canterbury. The bishop died in 1680, and the chapter elected vicar-capitulars; but the Archbishop of Toulouse, at the instance of the intruded clergy, named another. On the imprisonment of the lawful vicars, the Chapter chose a Canon Regular, P. Cerles, to act as Vicar General. The Government actually ordered the magistrates of Toulouse to condemn him to death. He escaped; but his effigy was dragged on the hurdle to the gibbet.

We should be sorry to believe that the French clergy willingly sided with Louis the Fourteenth in such measures, or looked upon Innocent's defence of their body against kingly tyranny, as "in direct violation of all past concordats," and practically defying the Gallican Church as a National Church.<sup>6</sup> Leibnitz judged the matter very differently.<sup>7</sup> But our authoress is as usual misled by Cardinal Bausset, who speaks of the Pope's conduct as violating a concordat, sanctioned by the Council of

<sup>4</sup> Bossuet in 1682, thought much the same. Gérin, p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> Gérin, p. 53. <sup>6</sup> *Bossuet and his Contemporaries*, p. 258.

<sup>7</sup> Leibnitz, t. iii. p. 252. Edition of M. Foucher de Careil.

Lateran; when in fact no such concordat was existing in the eighteenth century. Neither is the Cardinal, nor his copyist, correct in saying that "the Assembly of clergy therefore petitioned the King to call together a Council." Fleury tells us the scheme was concocted by Le Tellier, the chancellor, and his son, the Archbishop of Rheims, with Bossuet, and that the Bishop of Tournai joined himself to them. The primate had begun his career by violating the well-known rule which forbids an archbishop to exercise his functions till he has received the pallium, and his subsequent life, the enormous riches he amassed by a plurality of benefices, explains his share in the plot. Bossuet wished merely to treat of the question of the Regalia; the unfortunate Archbishop of Paris, De Harlay, Colbert, and Père la Chaise, pressed the King to treat of the Papal question. The King *ordered* that they should do so. Bossuet still urged that it should first be studied by the light of tradition; he wanted to stave off the decision. Mgr. de Harlay persuaded the King it would take too long to do so, and his Majesty again *commanded* them to come to a conclusion and to *decide promptly* on the authority of the Pope. Bossuet then yielded.<sup>8</sup>

M. Dirois, who figures as the recipient of several of Bossuet's letters, was a doctor of the Sorbonne appointed by the Court as attaché to the French Ambassador, Cardinal d'Estrées, at Rome; he was also agent of the prelates of the Court party. We can easily guess his views, and understand what Bossuet must have known would please him best. In the account the Bishop of Meaux sent to d'Estrées of his opening sermon, he mentions three points which he handled delicately not to wound Roman susceptibilities! "You know that the independence of kings in temporal matters, the episcopal jurisdiction as held direct from Christ, and the authority of Councils, are questions we do not quibble about in France." The opposition which Bossuet's views met with, the stand made against the four Articles, give a striking contradiction to this assertion.

"The question of the Régale," our authoress goes on to say,<sup>9</sup> "was arranged by mutual concession." Again a blind following of Bausset, who surely must have known that a mere handful of bishops could not settle a question affecting the rights of a third person, or reverse the solemn judgment of a Pope. Innocent the Eleventh spoke truly, when in his reply he accused the prelates of cowardice which prevented them raising their voice in defence of right. And as to Bossuet's letter, in language "so dignified and so stringent," even Arnauld qualifies it as "pitiable." Cardinal Villegagnon says that it is perfectly wonderful that Bossuet could have written such a letter to one of the holiest Popes that ever reigned, or that it could have been endorsed by the bishops of an age which prides itself on its courtesy. He is still

<sup>8</sup> Some very interesting articles bearing on Bossuet's conduct with regard to the Pope and the *Morale relaxée* have appeared lately in the *Etudes Religieuses* for January, February, and August, 1874.

<sup>9</sup> P. 260.

more surprised that a Cardinal should have so far forgotten his duty to the Pope as to applaud such a production.

Cardinal de Bausset writes—"The declaration of the four Articles did not and could not meet with any opposition in France. It did but confirm a doctrine which at all times had been precious to the University and the Faculty of Theology of Paris." The first statement has been already answered; its fuller answer is to be found in M. Gérin's account of the means used to exact compliance to it. We shall only quote here the words of a well known Gallican work, *La Tradition des Faits*, which appeared in 1760. "It required all the zeal and talents of some few (*quelques*) bishops and some few doctors, who were attached to true principles, to bring back the great number of Ultramontanes in the French clergy. As many as seventeen decrees of Parliament were needed to force the Faculty of Theology to register the *reglements* of 1663, or to make the doctors come into them."

Our author's estimate of the Bishop of Valentia and his work against Bossuet is taken nearly word for word from Bausset; and she does not evidently for a moment suspect that the work, "more than ordinarily virulent in abuse and excessive in Ultramontane tendency," was written by one of the most eminent theologians in Spain, as was Thomas de Rocaberti; and yet Bossuet, not only was "led to address the King on the necessity of a reply,"<sup>10</sup> but begged that the book might not be burned by the common hangman, though it deserved it more than many others.

Bossuet apparently never attempted to publish his *Defensio Cleri Gallicani*, on which he had laboured for twenty years, nor did he even desire his nephew to do so, probably because his views by that time had changed.

Perhaps some other time we may treat these questions more at length. We can only in conclusion call attention briefly to two strange mistakes. Speaking of Bossuet's *Variations*, the writer says in a note that therein "Bossuet markedly speaks of Anglicans as priests, in opposition to Protestant ministers." Döllinger<sup>11</sup> says that Bossuet not knowing English had to rely for his information on a French translation of Burnet's History of the Reformation; and it is evident that his method was an *argumentum ad hominem*, refuting Anglicanism by the very words of its own historian; and when he calls their clergy priests and deacons, he is manifestly *not* expressing his *own* opinion. In chapter xiii. book x. "On the validity of Orders, on what it is based in England," he says that "the Synod (of London of 1562) wishing to establish the validity of the ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons, founds it on the formula contained in the book of ordination of Edward the Sixth." And in the following chapter, "On this then did the bishops found the validity of their consecration, and that of the ordinations of their priests and deacons."<sup>12</sup> And he

<sup>10</sup> P. 273.

<sup>11</sup> In the Dictionary of Wetzer and Welte, "Bossuet."

<sup>12</sup> Burnet, part ii. book xii.

goes on to say that *but for an Act of Parliament* the Orders would have remained doubtful.

The writer should not have handled with so little knowledge the subject of Probabilism. "This strange doctrine arose with Anthony of Cordova, a Franciscan monk who in 1571, wrote that "all theologians were unanimous in affirming that the surest opinion was always to be adopted, when the opposite opinion seemed equally probable, and still more so in proportion as its probability was greater."<sup>18</sup> Much less should she have ventured on its definition. "A 'probable opinion' is one which, without the character or strength of certainty, nevertheless tends to the belief that any given act is permitted or forbidden." If Anthony of Cordova wrote the sentence attributed to him, and if it means anything, it was hopeless rigorism, anything except probabilism. The definition is still more bewildering. Probabilism is, as we all know, based on the principle that no obligation can exist where there is no law, and that a propable opinion, that is to say an opinion solidly grounded on reason or authority against the existence of a law, frees us from its obligation. In other words, when we have good reason for thinking a thing is not prohibited, we are not bound to refrain from it. A principle practically accepted in the details of our every-day life.

And as for Bossuet being "the conqueror of the doctrine" by the censure of it which he obtained from the French Assembly, it is now, as a matter of fact, the universal teaching of every Catholic school.

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5. *Devotions to the Blessed Virgin*; or, Mary venerated in all ages. Devotions to the Blessed Virgin from ancient sources, partly translated from the French of Léon Gautier. By E. A. M. London : Washbourne, 1875.

Léon Gautier's *Prières à la Vierge, d'après les MSS. du Moyen Age*, edited by Palmé, has been the chief storehouse from which this collection of prayers has been selected. It consists of two parts, the first of which contains various devotions for morning and evening, for Mass, Communion, and Confession, all drawn from old sources, many of them being of great antiquity. It is the echo of the Church's voice, ever glorifying God in Mary. The second part gives prayers from the early liturgies of the East and West; then there follows a sort of *catena* of Fathers celebrating the praises of the Virgin Mother in different strains, but in perfect harmony; and in conclusion a series of early English hymns, which appeared in the MONTH of June—July, 1873.

The references are given throughout; and there are evidences of care which give an air of authority to the quotations. The Preface is a sort of summary of the Devotion to our Lady, indicating how Christian and Catholic, and necessarily so, is her *cultus*. The ideal early Christianity, with a cold Calvinistic worship of the Almighty Being, to the exclusion of any honour to His servants, His angels, or His

<sup>18</sup> P. 531.

Mother, is as great a fiction as ever was invented. And what is harder to understand is a body which calls itself Catholic, and holds that it is one in body and spirit with the undivided Church of Christ, and yet dares to rate the Roman Church with Mariolatry; and while professing to love and honour worthily the Mother of God, considers she ought "to be kept in the background." Let us hope this very beautiful book may open closed eyes, and warm cold hearts.

*6. Reply to the Bishop of Ripon's Attack on the Catholic Church. By a Layman.  
Sheffield Catholic Association, 1874.*

The activity of the Catholic Association of Sheffield in bringing out this capital answer is an example which will, we trust, be imitated. Manchester has its tracts, and there is no reason why our great towns, or rather, great and stirring associations in our towns, should not promote similar publications. Generally speaking, the defence of the Church is left to private enterprize and private resources, and the apologist has to give both his time and money, for pecuniary profit cannot as yet be expected for Catholic publications.

The Association of Sheffield is well known as one of the best organized and most active; and if we could hope to see, as in other countries, a Congress, or call it what you may, of the various local societies, it would certainly occupy there an important place. Its members have been fortunate in securing so skilled a champion. Not that Dr. Bickersteth, the elected by favour of Lord Shaftesbury and the Premier Palmerston, is a very dangerous adversary, but his very platitudes are on a level with the ordinary English prejudice, and make their refutation all the more generally useful.

We quote a very interesting note which gives in a nutshell the case between the Church and Galileo.

Granted that it is most difficult to know the particulars of events which occurred 250 years ago, still, there are broad facts which any one may learn, any one who will take the trouble to do so. Let us trace the broad facts as to Galileo.

1. It is to Rome that we are mainly indebted for what is called the Copernican theory. It was a Roman Cardinal, Nicolas of Susa, who is believed to have first publicly broached it, and who was rewarded for his labours by the Pope. Forty years later came Copernicus, who delivered lectures in Rome by command of Leo the Tenth, held a conspicuous professorial chair, and published his treatise on the heliocentric theory by the command of, and by the aid of, Paul the Third. This work went forth to the world, bearing the written sanction of the Pope. Galileo was a Tuscan. In his day the Copernican theory was taught in the lectures of the Roman College, and also in the Sapienza, the Pope's own University. But the ignorant populace—not the Pope, nor the Cardinals, nor the wise men in the Church—took scandal at a theory which apparently contradicted certain very plain statements of Scripture. And now Galileo made his ruinous mistake. Copernicus had been content to confine himself to science; but Galileo must prove his theory from Scripture. He was warned off such ground by authority. A friend of Pope Urban the Eighth wrote—by command of that Pontiff—to entreat Galileo to desist: "You ought not to travel out of the

limits of physics and mathematics ; you should confine yourself to such reasoning as Ptolemy and Copernicus used : theologians maintain that the interpretation of Scripture is their own particular care." But Galileo would force the Inquisition to pronounce judgment on the Scripturalness of his theory. He was again entreated to desist, in the most friendly, even affectionate terms. He promised to leave Scripture alone. He subsequently broke that promise, in the most impetuous, even insolent manner. Meanwhile, Pope Urban the Eighth was elevating to the very highest positions those who held the Copernican theory ; and, among them, Galileo himself, who received a pension as a reward for his labours.

2. It was solely out of reverence to the Holy Scriptures, and to avoid giving scandal to the weak, that Galileo was punished at all ; and were it not that the hatred of Popery is stronger than the love of the Bible in the hearts of the majority of Protestants, they would applaud the Church for her conduct. To show that the Church was not singular, in wishing to ward off this scandal, it may be mentioned that when Kepler, a German Protestant, wrote a book in 1596 to vindicate the Copernican system, and submitted it to the Protestant Academical Senate of Tübingen, it was pronounced to be "damnable heresy," and he was driven into a Catholic country to take refuge from Protestant wrath. We must remember, too, in palliation of this course, that even down to the days of Sir Isaac Newton the Copernican system was not proved ; and therefore the sense of Scripture might well be held in abeyance in regard of a purely astronomical point. True or not true, the avoidance of scandal to even one soul in the Christian Church was of far more importance in the eyes of good men than all astronomical points put together.

3. The Pope did not issue a "dogma" on the subject ; but the Council of the Inquisition passed a disciplinary judgment, to counteract the irreverence of Galileo. To understand this it must be known that (1) the Pope is not infallible on astronomy, and therefore could not teach *ex cathedra* upon it. Neither in regard of an astronomical theory, nor of the bearing of Scripture upon it, could the Pope affect to teach dogmatically. The Pope is infallible on faith and morals, but fallible on everything else : so that he could not teach infallibly on a point which lay outside his judicial inerrancy. (2) No judgment was given on the true sense of Scripture ; only a condemnation of Galileo's special errors ; and what those special errors were, only they can understand who have read through the whole of his writings. And how many moderns have done this ? Again, (3) the word "heresy," applied to these writings, did not mean theological heresy. The Inquisition being first formed to judge of heresy in doctrine, the word heresy was necessarily employed, so as to render a process legal, and to enable the "qualifiers" to proceed. This word was used, up to the time of the Reformation, to convey any offence against the Church ; as where Martin Luther, when speaking of some prefect who did not pay tribute to the Pope, said, "Such impertinence must always in the Pope's spiritual law be called heresy." That Galileo did not think himself condemned, in even so much as the "scientific" sense, is apparent from his letter to a friend : "The result has not been favourable to my enemies ; because the doctrine of Copernicus has not been declared heretical, but only as not consonant with Holy Scripture ;" that is with the *prima facie* signification of Scripture. The Pope also wrote : "The Copernican system is not condemned, nor is it to be considered heretical, but only as rash." And, forthwith, one of the Cardinals, by command of the Pope, issued a new edition of Galileo's writings ; eliminating the passages on the Scriptures, and reducing the theory to hypothesis.

4. As to the punishment of Galileo, so absurdly exaggerated by adversaries, he passed a week in the Dominican Convent of the Minerva in Rome, and four months in the palace of the Tuscan Ambassador, his own particular friend. "I have for a prison," he wrote, in a letter which is extant, "the delightful Palace of Trinità di Monte." Subsequently, he wrote, "Afterwards they sent me to my best friend, the Archbishop of Siena, and I have always the most delightful tranquillity." Later he went to his own villa in Florence,

where he died in peace with the Church. So that the clemency of the Church in the punishment of a rebel, even of one who had caused great scandal, is not less shown in this story of Galileo, than is her nurture of science—apart from theology—and her reverence in the treatment of Scripture.

This statement appears on the whole very correct, and the feeling of Protestants with regard to the Copernican theory clearly exculpates the action of the Inquisition. They saw no further, nor less far than the world about them.

In page 43 there is a very capital exposure of the fraternizing of Anglicans with any one whom they can persuade to fraternize with them. It would require stronger convictions than are generally found out of the Church to resist the sweet incense of refined applause and the British hospitality which awaits any one who chooses to come here and protest against the Pope. People whose faith is not very certain easily waive points and principles under such circumstances.

It is no small praise to be mistaken for the author of the *Comedy of Convocation*, and certainly there is a movement and life in the *Reply* which has deserved the compliment of such a mistake. Hard knocks are given. The author knows best whether in stout Yorkshire that is not considered lawful and prudent in polemics.

7. *On the Choice of a State of Life.* By the late Bishop of Bruges. Translated by Aloysius del Vittorio; with a Preface by the Bishop of Salford. Burns and Oates, London, 1874.
8. *The Religious State according to the Doctrine of St. Thomas.* By Jules Didiot, Honorary Canon of Bayeux, &c. Translated from the French. London: Burns and Oates, 1874.

These two works, on a most important subject, may be well said to explain and enforce the other. Mgr. Malou's, the first mentioned, is deservedly well known on the Continent, and we are very glad to see it in an English dress. Canon Didiot's book, as its title expresses, is nothing more than putting in modern shape the teachings of the Angelic Doctor on the religious state. As he tells us in his Preface,<sup>1</sup> he merely reproduces what St. Thomas teaches in the 2a. 2æ. of the *Summa*, and the third book of the *Summa contra Gentiles*. Nothing, therefore, can be clearer, more carefully stated, or more convincing than the doctrine and general drift of the work. It is a complete compendium of Catholic teaching on the subject, most useful alike to religious, both men and women, to directors, and to every one who wishes to have clear ideas on the nature and character of the religious state. If the colouring, which is *de rigueur* in French literature, is not quite in accordance with our more sober tastes, it does not in any way interfere with the strictness of statement or the force of argument. We feel we are following safe guidance, and even though the form

<sup>1</sup> P. x.

may be poetical, the substance we know is from St. Thomas, and that is enough.

The Bishop of Salford speaks at length, in his Preface to Mgr. Malou's work, on the subject of *perfection* outside the *state of perfection*. He complains that "it is sometimes said that the Evangelical counsels of perfection, which the Church teaches us to hold in the highest esteem, belong to the religious orders, and that no one should attempt to practise them unless he or she is prepared to enter an order." This, and a perhaps more common error, that the possibility of perfection in the world excuses one from doing all in one's power to obey a divine call to a state of perfection, are thoroughly answered in chapters i., ii. and xiii. of Canon Didiot's work. The aim of every religious order, dedicated to the salvation of souls, has ever been to preach perfection to all, both ecclesiastics and laics, and, as St. Ignatius lays down in the rules of his Society, to seek the salvation and *perfection* not only of themselves, but of all others. And this individual perfection is best sought by letting the Spirit of God breathe where He will, Who gives to one after this manner, and to the other after that. The oath of the German College, which only binds for a period, and still more that of the English College which binds for life, are clearly not of the nature of a religious vow, but are simply an engagement on the part of the student, who receives his education on their foundation, to give his services to the work for which they have been established.

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9. *Inaugural Address*, delivered at the opening of the Session, 1874-5, of the Clongowes-Wood College Debating Society. By the Rev. J. J. O'Carroll, S.J. Dublin : M'Glashan and Gill.

This address was very far above the usual level of such speeches. It is a careful, well-reasoned, and well-written pamphlet on the subject of Eloquence. We draw attention to it, however, for the particular purpose of remarking on the very interesting examination which it contains of the famous speech of Griffith's, in *Henry the Eighth*, on Cardinal Wolsey. The writer shows that this speech is taken from a passage in Father Campion's work on Ireland, which had been copied by Holinshed. The comparison between Campion's speech and that of Shakspeare is very well worked out.

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10. *Which is Right?* By Leo Selloby. London : Burns and Oates, 1875.

A very pleasing story, telling again the old, but ever interesting history of the journey to the true Faith. The first page, with its elaborate word-painting, was no doubt the step which cost the most, but that passed, the story flows brightly and briskly along. It will make a pleasant gift-book for the New Year. The scene is laid at home

and abroad, and the story brings the reader across various religious opinions of the day. It is not fair to reveal the plot so carefully and skilfully worked out. But a railway accident, the perils of a snowstorm on the Alps, are among the many striking incidents that carry one on through the book.

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11. *Order of Service for Christmas Day according to the use of the Church of Rome.*  
Compiled from the Roman Missal and Breviary, and accompanied with an English Translation throughout. Glasgow : Hugh Margey. London : Burns and Oates, 1875.

The publication is apparently for the use of the faithful, as well of non-Catholics, who assist at the Christmas services of our Catholic churches. The translation of the psalms, prayers, and even the Gospels and Epistles is new, and, we must confess, we do not think that the alterations of the Douay version are in any way for the better. For example, those of St. Luke c. ii. v. 5, or Titus c. ii. v. 12. The notes appear, as the translation, to be intended for the congregation; but the many directions to minute ceremonials, based upon Roman customs, are evidently for the clergy; and some of these will be novel even to those who have spent many years in Rome.

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12. *The Catholic Directory*, Ecclesiastical Register, and Almanack for the year of our Lord 1875. London : Burns and Oates.

The editor of the Directory for 1875 gives in the Preface a short pedigree of the series. The first *Ordo Recitandi* of which he knows is one for 1722. The thirty-eight Catholic Directories are a curious record of the revival of the Faith since 1838. It would be a very instructive work, if some one would compare the statistics of this year with, say, those of 1722. The former show that the clergy in Great Britain are nearly 2,000 in number. The Directory presents no new feature this year, but appears to have been edited with the care and precision for which it has long been remarkable.

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13. *St. Bernard and his Work.* A Discourse delivered during the Public Festivities at La Trappe of N. D. du Désert, near Toulouse, on the Feast of St. Bernard, 1874. By the R. P. Causette, Vicar General and Superior of the Priests of the Sacred Heart, at Toulouse. Translated from the French by the Right Rev. Abbot Burder, O. Cist.

English Catholics will feel grateful to Abbot Burder for his excellent translation of an excellent discourse.

## II.—CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "MONTH."

*Hawarden Castle, Chester.  
November 28, 1874.*

Sir,—I have not failed to read this morning the article entitled, "Mr. Gladstone's Expostulation," in the early copy of the MONTH for December, which I owe to your great courtesy; and I do not lose a moment in noticing a passage where the writer has inadvertently made charges of a nature touching honour and feeling, which I hope he will be inclined to withdraw. He states—

1. That I have "stigmatized" a certain body of persons as "converts."
2. That I have sneered at them as "womanish."
3. That I have forgotten that the list of these persons includes Dr. Newman, Archbishop Manning, and other very distinguished names.

As to the first. I have treated the name convert (p. 61) not as a stigma, but as a name of praise; and so much so, that I am not able consistently to use it without qualification.

As to the second. The charge is a sheer error. I have used no such epithet.

As to the third. The reviewer has failed to observe both the language I use in the particular passage, and the general drift of this portion of the pamphlet. I speak of the "highest" classes of this country; and my argument has evident reference to the transference of territorial influence and legislative power. To none of the names you quote does the passage or the reasoning apply.

As respects those named, and others whom the reviewer might have added, I will only say that, strange as appears to me their aberration, and deplorable on all sides its results, it would be, in my opinion, alike irrational to deny their intellectual eminence, and scandalous to call in question their motives, or to undervalue the great sacrifices they have made.

I have the honour to remain, Sir,

Your faithful servant,

The Editor of the MONTH.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

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*London, December 1, 1847.*

Sir,—The Editor of the MONTH has placed in my hands a letter in which you call his attention to a passage in an article on your *Expostulation* which I contributed to the current number of that periodical.

You complain that I have lapsed into a misinterpretation of your meaning when I assert that you have "stigmatized" a certain class in the Catholic Church "as converts"; and attached to them the epithet "womanish." Whereas, you state, that you have treated the name convert as a name of praise.

Though unable to detect the praise in the passage of your pamphlet to which you refer, I at once admit that I have been betrayed into the use of language not strictly accurate; at the same time, pardon me if I add that I cannot help maintaining that the impression conveyed by more than one passage in your *Expostulation* was of a nature sufficiently to account for the adoption of that language.

That you have not branded a certain body of persons "as converts" is true; but that you qualified the class usually covered by that designation in language calculated to attach a stigma to them is certainly not a groundless assertion. To speak of converts as "captives," is hardly an expression of praise. Or again, to say that "the claim now made upon the convert by the authority which he solemnly and with the highest responsibility acknowledges, requires him to surrender his mental and moral freedom, and to place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another," cannot be regarded as complimentary to his moral and intellectual qualifications.

Again, with respect to the word "womanish," I grant that you have not made use of the epithet, but when you stated with reference to the conversions to the Catholic Church amongst the highest classes of this country, that "the conquests have been chiefly, as might have been expected, amongst women," there certainly seemed to be ground for putting a sense upon your words which could not fail to encourage the common reproach that what is called the womanish temperament is one great predisposing cause of such conversions.

It will be matter of no ordinary satisfaction to many to find that these impressions are unfounded. The assurance that such is the fact, will not only be received with pleasure by those who felt themselves touched by the meaning I attached to your words, but also with a sense of positive relief by many who were pained at the bare supposition that such a meaning could be attributed to one whose utterances must carry such weight with them as yours wherever the English tongue is spoken or understood.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
THE WRITER OF THE ARTICLE.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.

MR. FFOLKES IN "MACMILLAN'S MAGAZINE."<sup>1</sup>

*See Article, "Our oldest Manuscript," &c.*

Sir,—Mr. Ffoulkes has more than once shocked us, not to use a more emphatic term, by his readiness to throw dirt at the names of those who are well affected or have rendered services to the Bishops of Rome, and to trump up charges most seriously affecting their reputation on the most flimsy and transparent pretexts. His last undertaking in this line selects for its victim Peter De Marca, translated to the Archbisp[isc]opie

<sup>1</sup> "Our oldest Manuscript. Who mutilated it?" *Macmillan's Magazine*, December, 1874.

of Paris in the year 1660, and its object is, that by convicting De Marca of having mutilated an ancient MS. in behalf of Papal pretensions, an argument may be found to favour the theory that the Papal power is based on systematic fraud. De Marca was a type of the old Gallican prelate, cultivated, very learned in ecclesiastical history, and honourable and faithful in his dealings with others. A few years ago, when Mr. Ffoulkes thought that De Marca had been an enemy of the Papacy, he placed him at the head of a list in which the names of Bossuet, Mabillon, Montfaucon followed, and "a host of other ornaments of the Gallican Church, who had, throughout the whole range of ecclesiastical literature, done so much to clear away the rubbish of ages, to discriminate between truth and falsehood—between primitive truth and mediaeval fiction—and set truth upon its pedestal once more."<sup>1</sup>

But now he characterizes this same De Marca as a "thief" and a "liar." Mr. Ffoulkes' one idea is that the Papacy is founded on fraud, forgery, and imposition. He has shown this fully to his own satisfaction at least with regard to its dogmatic formulas, and he has evidently been hard at work to show the same with regard to the canons. In the midst of his brilliant prospects of success and his hopes of crushing once for all and for the very last time the authority of the Popes, in unravelling the imposture to its very centre, he found De Marca, the ideal Gallican, like a snake in his path, and henceforward he saw him with other eyes. De Marca was now but a confederate in the great conspiracy to enslave the world.

I must here offer a short sketch of the incident that gave rise to this marvellous change of judgment in Mr. Ffoulkes. In the seventeenth century there was a warm dispute between the Catholics on one side, and some of the Gallicans and Protestants on the other, as to whether or no the canons of Sardica belonged, in the fifth century, to what was called the *Codex canonum Ecclesiae Universae*. The origin of the dispute was this, that Pope Zosimus had quoted one of these canons conferring on the Bishop of Rome the right to send legates *a latere* to try cases of appeal in the provinces, in a letter to the African bishops, as a canon of Nicæa. The Protestants said this was a fraud; the Catholics said that the canons of Nicæa and Sardica were so united in the *codex canonum* that at the time of Zosimus, and in the West, they all went by the same name and could not be distinguished. In this way they explained that the Pope had acted in good faith and that there was really no object in committing a fraud. I would ask the reader to bear in mind that there was no question as to the canon quoted being genuine, this was admitted on both sides; but the question originally was whether the Sardican belonged to the *codex* and immediately followed the Nicene canons under the same title. But to this question was added another of far greater practical importance, and which completely put the question regarding the good faith of Zosimus in the background. The Gallicans had conceived the project of freeing themselves

<sup>1</sup> *Athanasian Creed*, p. 373.

from the law of appeal to the Pope in certain canonical questions. They sought at the Council of Trent to bring back the canon law in France to the standard of the first four General Councils, and failing in this, they sought to reduce it to the *Codex canonum Universæ Ecclesie*, which, according to their mode of historical criticism, did not include the right of appeal to the Popes. The Catholic writers maintained that the ancient *codex* contained the right of appeal; and as that right was expressly provided for in more than one of the canons of the Council of Sardica, the presence of those canons in the ancient *codex* became the question *brûlante* of the time.

In the year 1610, Christopher Justellus, a French Protestant, published, as Mr. Ffoulkes tells us, from a manuscript of his own now in the Bodleian Library, the *Codex canonum Universæ Ecclesie*, in which publication the Sardican canons are not found, and in the Preface to which the Gallicans are congratulated on the evidence thus furnished of the historical claims of their party. As more than one writer tells us that this publication is not the true representative of any collection of canons at all, it is to be regretted that Mr. Ffoulkes did not compare it with the manuscript from which it was taken and inform us if the accusation was correct or otherwise.

The French Protestants were not very scrupulous about the way they treated ancient manuscripts. At first they burnt them wholesale, and thus destroyed some of the finest collections in the world, some of the remnants of which are now fortunately treasured with great care at the Vatican. They got possession of some too, and Mr. Baring-Gould has told the people of England how they manipulated the texts to make out the story of Pope Joan against the Bishops of Rome. But some of the Calvinists made better use of these old manuscripts, and Christopher Justellus obtained a European reputation by his publication of the *codex*. Ten years later he published the canons of Dionysius Exiguus, and in the preface he maintained that the canons of Sardica did not belong to the *codex* of the Universal Church, but had been added by Dionysius, who made his translation in the sixth century, as they had been in use in the Latin Church for local causes. This was no small triumph to the Calvinists, but the Catholics held their ground. They maintained that in the copy from which Dionysius had translated the canons into Latin, the Sardican canons followed the Nicene, under the same heading and in consecutive numbers. This was maintained amongst others by Binius in his notes and preface to the canons of Sardica, and he pointed out where the Greek MS. was to be found.

All this time Justellus had in his possession a MS. containing a collection of the canons of the Universal Church, written in Latin, but older than the translation of Dionysius. He mentions this MS. in his preface to the canons of Dionysius. He speaks of its writing, but he does not speak of its contents or the order in which the canons succeeded each other. This MS., which would have at once settled the controversy, he never published to the day of his death. When he was

an elderly man, as we infer, he showed this precious MS. to Peter de Marca, and he told him, as De Marca informs us, that in the fervour of youth, he, Justellus, had cut out with a knife seven pages containing the canons of Sardica, and placed them at the end of the volume. That is, he removed them from the place where the Catholics said they should be, and placed them where they should be according to his view, and to suit the Calvinist theory. From this it is but fair to infer that Justellus regretted the rash act of his youth, which he confessed was done without reason; and also that De Marca regarded the communication as confidential. This document, Mr. Ffoulkes tells us, "was presented to the Bodleian by Henry Justellus, the son of Christopher, a French Protestant, and refugee, who died librarian to King William the Third." The last four of the seven leaves have been restored to the MS., but they occupy the first four instead of the last four missing places after the Council of Nicæa.

The circumstances under which he became aware of the excision, did not prevent De Marca from writing a description of the MS., and drawing from it an argument in favour of the Catholic cause. This he did in a dissertation on the ancient collections of canons written while he was in Spain, in the early part of the year 1660, but published by Baluze after his death. In this dissertation De Marca speaks highly of the merits and just-mindedness of Justellus, who was then dead, but of course he says nothing of the communication that had been made to him. Somewhat later in the same year it came to the knowledge of De Marca that Henry Justellus and Voel, a doctor of Sorbonne and evidently an advanced Gallican, were publishing the MS., but that the Sardican canons were omitted. What follows we have on the authority of Baluze, borne out in its general bearing by the letters of De Marca. Mr. Ffoulkes gives all the references. He does not question the veracity of Baluze, but he sets aside his evidence on the supposition that Baluze was "at a distant corner of the room when all this passed,"<sup>2</sup> that is, while a most important transaction took place, deeply affecting the honour of those concerned in it; which Baluze was invited to be present at, and of which he gives the most precise, direct, and even solemn testimony. Mr. Ffoulkes does not tell us on what historical basis he grounds this "corner" theory. We suspect that he has none, but it is entirely due to that historical insight and sagacity which enables him to dispense with all evidence when he brings criminal accusations against others.

When De Marca heard of the suppression of the Sardican Decrees in the new edition, he wrote at once to Seguier, the Chancellor of France, to stay the publication of the book till he should reach Paris. On his arrival at Paris he could only obtain from the Chancellor that the editors should before publication give him an account of their work. Accordingly they soon came to him, bringing with them the Abbot Espessæus. De Marca was accompanied by Baluze. There was an

angry dispute, for the two editors at first maintained that the canons of Sardica did not belong at all to the MS. However, De Marca proved that they did. Of the seven leaves that had been cut out, and put by the elder Justellus at the end of the volume, the editors now produced only two, which they spoke of as "old leaves." De Marca showed that they were of the same age as the rest, the same size, that they had the same margin, and the same lettering. The fragments were compared also with the Binian edition of 1618, and it was thus proved that they belonged to the canons of Sardica. De Marca declared that the elder Justellus had acknowledged what he had done, and joining to these arguments threats of the King's displeasure, he brought the editors to consent that the fragments should be published and acknowledged as part of the *codex*. This was the sole point that De Marca sought to obtain, and he obtained it.

The new edition was already printed. How were the unfortunate editors to cover their bad faith? That was their business, and no doubt De Marca would not oppose whatever plan might suggest itself for getting them out of their difficulty, so that, on the point he was determined to secure, there should be no tergiversation. They finally agreed to publish the fragment at the end of the *codex*, to say that the missing leaves had perished by age, and that the proper place had not been assigned to the Sardican canons through a mistake of the copyist. De Marca wrote the preface, in which things were thus reconciled, and he kept a copy. On the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Henry Justellus had to leave France. He took his mutilated MS. with him and deposited it, as has been said, in the Bodleian Library, where it has since been safely and quietly preserved. The contents of the second volume—that in which the mutilation had taken place—are described, as Mr. Ffoulkes tells us, "in a modern hand similar to, yet obviously different from, that of Justellus," yet notwithstanding the difference in a way so as to cover the excision and the intended suppression, and support the darling theory of the Justelli and the Gallicans that the Sardican canons never belonged to the *Corpus Juris*. From the youth of Christopher Justellus till it was safely lodged in the Bodleian this volume had been in the hands of the father and the son. Mr. Ffoulkes does not hint that it was ever in the possession of De Marca or of any Catholic, or that it was ever seen by him except on two occasions, and that in the presence of one or other of them; and yet it is perfectly plain to Mr. Ffoulkes that the fraud was committed in the interests of the Papacy. Indeed, though he does not say so in express terms, the object of his paper in *Macmillan's Magazine* is to show that it was done by De Marca.

Let us examine briefly the utter incredibility of this strange fancy. When was the excision made? No doubt when Baluze was in the "corner," and no doubt the Abbot and the two irate editors in corresponding recesses. De Marca had evidently set them to play a game at which Mr. Ffoulkes might well distinguish himself. But why did the

elder Justellus never publish this his most valuable MS., which would have proved the point he failed to prove by laborious contrivances? Why did he never even speak of its contents? Why from youth to old age did he make a mystery of it? Let Mr. Ffoulkes answer this.

Then, again, whose story was it that the missing leaves had perished by old age? It was the story of the two editors, or, at least, of Henry Justellus. It was they who spoke of the "old leaves" "which had never formed part of this MS." Moreover, "having escaped on that occasion," says Baluze, "they embarked on another way of settling this dispute unknown to De Marca." But they put in the story of the "greater part of the Sardican canons with the latter portion of the subscriptions to the Nicene Creed," having perished by old age. They seem to have reprinted the edition, or at least a part of it; to have put four pages in their proper place next to the Council of Nicæa, but faithful to the Calvinistic theory they informed their readers that probably "the author of this collection was guided, not by the rank of the Councils, but by the chronological order therein." They managed to find two more pages after they had parted with De Marca, and when the fact that the Sardican canons belonged to the MS. could no longer be suppressed. But they did not find the portion of the canons where the right of appeal is expressed, but this to the Catholics mattered little, as on that point there was not a shadow of a doubt, and the existence of the right was inserted by both the Justelli in their editions of the Sardican canons.

It is sometimes remarked amongst us that a morbid hatred of the Papacy seems to generate a preternatural fatuity in those whom it invades. Would any rational being ventilate such an utterly baseless theory as this last escapade of Mr. Ffoulkes', except on the subject of the Papacy? Would any one dare to write this way of any living being, unless such was supposed to be an Ultramontanist? This is the topic that elicits and justifies and renders praiseworthy the crudest mixture of slander and absurdity.

Let us see in detail some of the charges of Mr. Ffoulkes against De Marca, and which, be it observed, are the only evidence of his having tampered with the MS.

1. In the work already quoted, this latter says of Christopher Justellus, then dead: "Clarae memoriae viri, et antiquitatum ecclesiasticarum curiosi exploratoris: qui, licet communionis Calvinianæ partes sequeretur, sincere se gerebat in eruendis e situ veterum monumentis ad rem canonicanam exornandam." Mr. Ffoulkes is very hard on De Marca for speaking this way of one whom he knew to have been guilty of mutilating a MS., and whom he also accused later of having in the edition of another's work suppressed the truth. The sin was one of youth. It had been regretted, and it was never used to deceive the public by. It was after this opuscule was written that the fraud of Henry Justellus was attempted.

2. "The statement of the editor's that the leaves had perished by

time, was," Mr. Ffoulkes says, "imposed on the editors [by De Marca] under pains and penalties (as we learn from his letter to the Pope) was studiously mendacious." Mendacious it certainly was, but though written by De Marca it was the story of the editors; and, moreover, there is not the slightest reference to any such declaration in the portion of the letters given by Baluze and Mr. Ffoulkes. De Marca only speaks of threatening the "Royal powers" to secure that the "Sardican canons were restored in the printed copy to their proper place."

3. De Marca gave the following description of the mutilated MS.—  
*In ea collectione hoc erat lemma : Canones Nicenii. Deinde sequebatur series quadraginta canonum numeris suis distinctorum : quorum priores viginti erant veri et genuini Nicenae Synodi, reliqui autem viginti continebant Canones unum et viginti Concilii Sardicensis, duobus capitibus in unum compactis ; nulla interim mentione facta hujus Concilii Sardicensis. Non dubitandum quin statim post editionem adjecti fuerint Canones illi Sardenses, priori collectioni, consequentibus numeris, sub antiquo titulo.*

"Every word of this description is false," says Mr. Ffoulkes, "with the exception of what I cannot prove false merely because some thief has been beforehand with me." "It is false (1) that this MS. contains a collection of Sardican and Nicene Canons only." No doubt. But De Marca said nothing of the kind. Before Mr. Ffoulkes ends his sentence he accuses De Marca of saying that the Sardican are followed by the Chalcedonian Canons in the MS. (2) "That it begins with the Nicene and ends with the Sardican." De Marca says nothing of the kind. (3) "That it contains any series of forty Canons *numeris suis distinctorum*." I understand from the description given by Mr. Ffoulkes that it does—twenty Nicene and twenty Sardican, each numbered separately—that is what all the writers of the time, Justellus included, mean by *numeris distinctis*. (4) "That the Sardican Canons were added to the Nicene *consequentibus numeris*." De Marca is here speaking of the first publication of the Canons and not of the MS.

Mr. Ffoulkes denies in No. 3 that they were *distinctis numeris*, how then can he deny in No. 4 that they were, *consequentibus numeris*. Mr. Foulkes asks, who cares to unravel the tissue further after this? No one, I suspect. But Mr. Ffoulkes until his next discovery can amuse himself with a few problems. (1) How does it happen that Henry Justellus and his Protestant and Gallican friends, with opportunities of searching the archives of Paris for the letters of De Marca to Seguier, never made any attempt to clear the character of Christopher Justellus from so foul a charge? (2) How did De Marca ever get possession of the MS.? (3) Why did Christopher Justellus never publish it? (4) How did some of the missing leaves find their way back to their place, which were not forthcoming until Justellus had to acknowledge publicly that the Sardican canons belonged to the MS.? (5) Was it the Papal or the Gallican cause that would be served by the successful suppression of these canons?

J. J.





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